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DEMOSTHENES

ORATIONS AGAINST PHILIP.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES

BY

EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D

AND

P. E. MATHESON, M.A.

VOL. I. PART I.—INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

(Philippic I. Olynthiacs I-III)

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THIS First Volume of the "Philippic Orations" of Demosthenes contains the *First Philippic* and the *Three Olynthiacs*, i.e. the Orations which preceded the Peace of Philocrates. The Second Volume, which is in preparation, will contain the *De Pace*, the *Second* and *Third Philippic*, and the *De Chersoneso*.

The editors are under great obligations to preceding commentators, and under even greater to the admirable work of Arnold Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, of which a second edition is now appearing.

OXFORD, *September*, 1887.



INTRODUCTION.

The Rule of Sparta, 403-394 B. C.

DURING the Peloponnesian war a remarkable change took place in the character of the population of Athens. The old Athenian families had lived in the country for generations, and round them had gathered a number of men with small holdings, who formed a permanent rural population, in contrast to the traders and artizans who from the time of the Persian wars inhabited the city of Athens. This rural population was not only driven into the city by the war, which rendered residence in the country sometimes unsafe, and always miserable; it was also greatly impoverished. At the same time the ecclesia and the law courts offered a means of subsistence to a large number of citizens within the walls of the city. The country declined and the town grew; the possession of land in the country became of comparatively little importance. The proposal of Phormisius that the franchise should be restricted to those who were owners of land, which was brought forward immediately after the expulsion of the Thirty, was rejected. Athens became more than ever a city of traders.

*Change
in the
population
of Athens.*

One consequence of the change was the employment of mercenaries to fight the battles of the city. At the beginning of the fourth century Greece was filled with adventurers, whom the war had left impoverished and embittered. The ties of patriotism had been loosened or broken, and they were willing to follow any commander. For the first time, a military class arose in Greece. The commanders were almost as independent as the soldiers whom they led. Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus

*Employ-
ment of
merce-
naries.*

were Athenian citizens, but they were not always in the service of Athens. They put their swords at the disposal of those who wished to employ them. Indeed this was often the only means by which they could escape the consequences of a disastrous expedition, provide themselves with money, or retain their hold on their troops. Where there was money, men could be had; and owing to her trade, which was little injured by her fall, Athens was not long in lack of means.

- 3 The fleet also revived. Though the terms imposed by Lysander after the fall of Athens left the city in possession of twelve war-ships only, the number of merchantmen was unlimited, and in these sailors were trained whose services could be transferred, when needed, to vessels of war. It seems at first sight incredible, that in twenty-five years after the siege of Athens (378 B.C.), the Athenians should possess a force of 10,000 men and a fleet of 100 ships¹. The revival was due partly to the wealth of Athens, and partly to the conduct of Sparta. The rule of that city after the humiliation of her great rival was felt by every one to be unjust. She established decarchies in the cities which had belonged to the Athenian confederacy, and by her harbours and garrisons forced them to accept such forms of government as suited her own interests. Success brought out the worst side of the Spartan nation—their coarse brutality and utter indifference to the welfare of others. At the same time freedom from the severe restraint of Spartan discipline degenerated into license, and acquaintance with luxury bred an insatiable love of gain. Of all these qualities Lysander was himself a conspicuous example. His avarice and ambition made him obnoxious even to the Spartan authorities, who were only too glad to find an opportunity of checking his power. It was, no doubt, jealousy of his successes which caused Pausanias, the Spartan king, to grant such favourable terms to Athens, when Lysander had brought the city into an utterly helpless condition.

*Athens
recovers
her navy.*

*Unjust
rule of
Sparta.*

¹ Polybius, ii. 62.

During the years which immediately followed the capture of Athens the Spartans diverted their attention to Asia. After the death of Cyrus, Tissaphernes was made satrap of Sardis as before. The provinces subject to Cyrus were also assigned to him together with the control of the sea coast. He attempted to reduce the Ionian colonies to subjection. As the ruling power in Greece, the Lacedaemonians came to the rescue. Thimbron, their general, was joined by the remnant of the Ten Thousand who had marched to Cunaxa, and carried on the war with some success till he was succeeded by Dercyllidas. Dercyllidas remained in command for two years. In 396 B.C. Agesilaus, who had succeeded Agis on the throne of Sparta, took command in person. Under his vigorous leadership the war became so irritating to the Persians, that Tithraustes, who succeeded Tissaphernes at Sardis (395 B.C.), found it necessary to send over to Greece an emissary with a large sum of money, in order if possible to stir up a war there, and by this means make the recall of Agesilaus necessary.

The Greeks in Asia, 401-395 B.C.

The conduct of Agis towards the Eleans in 399 B. C. made clear to the Greeks the true nature of the Spartan hegemony. In Corinth and Thebes there was still sufficient independence to allow the feeling of indignation to assert itself. The democratic party gained in influence; and overtures were made to the Athenians and Argives. It was at this moment—the summer of 395 B. C.—that the emissary of Tithraustes, Timocrates of Rhodes, appeared in Greece. The chief men at Thebes, Corinth, and Argos were ready to listen to his proposals. Money was in fact the one thing which was needed to give effect to their hatred and discontent. The Thebans took the lead. In the autumn of 395 B. C., less than ten years after the disaster of Aegospotami, war was once more declared in Greece. The Thebans assisted the Opuntians in a local quarrel with the Phocians, who at once appealed to Sparta.

Anti-Spartan movements in Greece.

Thebes and Athens at war with Sparta.

The Spartans readily listened to their appeal. Lysander, who had been recalled from Asia whither he had gone with Agesilaus, was only too eager to seize an opportunity of making his importance felt. A force of 6000 Peloponnesians was ordered to march on Haliartus, a city in Boeotia. Meantime Lysander, who had been sent on to collect troops in Phocis and join Pausanias at Haliartus, attempted to take the city before the arrival of the Spartan king, Pausanias. He paid for his attempt with his life. Pausanias, who heard the news at Thespieae, returned home without attempting to carry on the campaign. He was brought to trial for his conduct on this occasion, and also for his leniency at the time of the expulsion of the Thirty from Athens. He withdrew into exile to escape a sentence of death.

*Death of
Lysander,
395 B.C.*

The Corinthian War, 394–387 B. C.

- 6 Such unexpected success encouraged those Greeks who were discontented with Sparta to express their opinion. By the end of 395 B. C. Sparta could only reckon on the allegiance of Phocis and Orchomenus. The Athenians had already joined the Thebans; Argos, Elis, Corinth, Arcadia, Achaea, were prepared to do so. A confederacy was formed at the Isthmus, with a view of carrying the war into Peloponnesus, and in the spring of 394 B.C. an army of 20,000 hoplites assembled at Corinth. The Spartans had already recalled Agesilaus, but they found it necessary to take the field before his arrival. They encamped with an army not less numerous than that of the confederates, under the command of Aristodemus, near Sicyon in July, 394 B.C. A battle took place on the *Nemea*, in which the Spartans were victorious.

Meantime Agesilaus hastened home with all speed. Crossing from Abydus, he passed through Thessaly, and in thirty days after his arrival in Greece he reached the northern border of Boeotia. Here he gathered together the troops of the Orchomenians and Phocians, with

*Return of
Agesilaus.*

whom he united a body of Lacedaemonians which came from Sicyon by sea. In August he met and defeated the forces of the confederates at *Coronea*. On this occasion Xenophon fought by the side of Agesilaus, and the importance of the victory may have been overestimated by the partial historian. Agesilaus himself was severely wounded, and unable for some time to pursue his march to the south.

On reaching the borders of Boeotia news had been brought 7 to Agesilaus that Pisander, his brother-in-law, to whom when leaving Asia, he had entrusted the Spartan fleet, had been utterly defeated at *Cnidus*

*Battle of
Cnidus.*

by Conon the Athenian and a Persian fleet supported by Pharnabazus. This disaster far outweighed any advantage which had been won by the victories of Nemea and Coronea. The Spartans by a single blow had lost the command of the sea and could not hope to regain it. Conon and Pharnabazus made a wise use of the situation. They at once offered to liberate the Greek cities from the garrisons and harbours which the Spartans had placed in them. By the end of the year the Spartans had been expelled from every post in the Hellespont and on the Asiatic coast, with the exception of Sestus and Abydus.

*The Long
Walls
rebuilt.*

In 393 B. C. the fleet passed over to Europe. Cythera was conquered; the naval and land forces of the confederates united. With the help of Persian money and Boeotian labour the Long Walls of Athens and the fortifications in the Peiraeus were rebuilt.

Thus the Spartans found themselves confronted by a 8 formidable combination of Grecian forces, assisted by the money of Persia. They did not attempt to operate beyond the isthmus, and for some years, 393-390 B. C. the centre of the war was Corinth. Various engagements were fought, in some of which Agesilaus obtained an advantage. On the other hand, the Athenian general, Iphicrates, succeeded in 392 B. C. in destroying a *mora* (battalion) of the Spartan army, an event hitherto without a parallel in Greek warfare. In 391 and 390, the Spartans were chiefly engaged

*Desultory
warfare.*

with the Argives and Acarnanians, but without any definite result, and the end of the war seemed as far off as ever, when a change in the policy of Persia once more raised Sparta to a pre-eminent position in Greece.

- 9 Tithraustes, the able opponent of Agesilaus at Sardis, had been replaced by Tiribazus, who was favourable to the Spartan interests, or was at any rate willing to support them on terms which promised advantage to the Great King. It had long been the policy of Persia to prevent by every means in her power a combination of Greek cities from rising to a formidable strength.

*Change
in the
policy of
Persia.*

This was the lesson which Tissaphernes had never ceased to inculcate. Hence the Persian power was not disinclined to support a proposal that every Greek city should be absolutely independent and free. The proposition also appealed to the national failing of the Greeks, who were at all times unable to limit the action of their own cities in the interests of a confederacy. To the Spartans, who were opposed by a combination of cities, such an arrangement was most desirable. A second object of great importance to the Persians was the control of the Hellenic cities on the Asiatic coast. So long as the Athenian empire existed this was impossible, and after the fall of Athens Sparta and even Agesilaus had fought in the cause of the Greek cities. But now that all hope of Spartan operations in Asia was at an end, and Athens had come forward once

*Sparta
and Persia
approach
each other.*

more as the mistress of the sea, Agesilaus did not scruple to reverse his policy. He consented to the surrender of the Asiatic cities to the king. Such was the sacrifice which Sparta was willing to make in order to secure the aid of Persia in extricating herself from her difficulties. No further evidence is necessary to show how greatly Greek politics had lost in independence, when the Long Walls of Athens were rebuilt with Persian money, and the freedom of the Asiatic cities was sold by Sparta to secure Persian favour.

- 10 This disgraceful transaction was first mooted in 392 B.C.

between Tiribazus, the satrap of Sardis, and the Spartan Antalcidas. It was opposed by Conon, who went to Sardis at the head of an embassy of Athenians, Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives. But Tiribazus was unmoved by their representations, and even threw Conon into prison. At Susa, however, a different policy prevailed. Artaxerxes was no friend to the Spartans, who had assisted his brother. He sent Struthas to replace Tiribazus at Sardis, and carry on the traditional policy against Sparta. In 391 B. C. a party of Spartans, under the command of Thimbron, was cut down by Persian troops.

*Opposition
of Conon.*

*Feeling at
Susa.*

The failure of these negotiations threw the Greeks upon their own resources. Teleutias, the half brother of Agesilaus, gained some slight advantages over the Athenians at sea. On the other hand, Byzantium, Chalcedon, and Lesbos were won for Athens (390 B. C.). But in 389 B. C. Thrasybulus, the hero of the restoration at Athens, fell at Aspendus. About the same time Conon, who had been liberated by Struthas, died. Besides his great merits as a commander, Conon had succeeded in winning Persian favour for Athens, and he was probably more influential than any other Greek at Susa. After his death, at any rate, Athens entered upon a new policy. With the return of her power, her old feelings returned also. Regarding herself as the natural opponent of the Persians, she forgot the assistance which she had received from the great king, and cooperated with Evagoras of Cyprus who refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Persia. Such a step naturally provoked resentment at Susa. The peace which was rejected in 391 B. C. was permitted in 387 B. C. As before, the negotiations were carried on through Antalcidas, by whose name the peace is known. The Greek cities of Asia were left to the control of the king, and as a compensation to Hellenic feeling, every Greek city, great or small was to be independent, and free.

*Death of
Conon.*

*Change of
the Athenian
policy.*

*Peace of
Antalcidas,
387 B. C.*

Sparta and Thebes, 386–361 B.C.

- 12 The demand that the Greek cities, great and small, should be independent did not affect Sparta. Her authority over Messenia and the Perioeci was a recognised fact, which no city in Greece

*Effect of
the peace
on Sparta.*

as yet ventured to contest. Sparta, therefore, at once took the foremost place in Greece, and with the support of Persia her power was irresistible. She proceeded without delay to the work of disintegration. Thebes was compelled to resign all claims to Orchomenus, and to permit the restoration of Plataea. Her dreams of becoming in Boeotia what Sparta was in Laconia and Messenia, and Athens in Attica, were ended—but only for a time. The Argives were ordered to withdraw from Corinth. For these demands there might be some show of reason. The claim of the Thebans was a matter of dispute, and the Argive-Corinthian confederacy had been formed to operate against Sparta. But in the years which immediately followed the peace of Antalcidas, it became clearer than ever that Sparta intended to rule in her own interests. The ‘autonomy’ of the cities was to be a means of reducing continental Greece to a state of utter helplessness. This policy she pursued with a reckless disregard of national interests in the sixteen years from 387 to 371 B.C.

- 13 In 385 B.C. she compelled the Mantineans, who for a long time had lived in a walled city with a democratic form of constitution, to pull down their walls, and separate into the five villages out of which their city had been formed.

*Dismemberment of
Mantineia.*

In this case there was no question of ‘autonomy,’ for the Mantineans were equally independent, whether they lived in villages or in a city. Two years later (383 B.C.) citizens from Apollonia and Acanthus in Chalcidice appeared at Sparta asking for assistance against Olynthus. This vigorous city had become the head of a great confederacy which formed a secure outwork on the Grecian border towards Macedon and Thrace.

She desired to include Acanthus and Apollonia in the league. The Spartans came forward as the champions of independence. After a war which lasted for some years and entailed heavy losses on the Spartans, the Olynthian confederacy was broken up (379 B. C.). No greater disaster ever happened to Hellas. Had Olynthus been allowed to consolidate her league, the rise of the Macedonian power would have been rendered impossible.

Sparta at war with Olynthus.

But this was not the only evil which arose out of the Olyn- 14
thian war. The beginning of it was signalled by a breach of good faith on the part of Sparta, to which it is difficult to find a parallel. As we have seen it was one of the provisions of the peace of Antalcidas, which had been brought about by the intervention of Sparta, that every city in Greece should be independent and free. This did not prevent the Spartans from seizing upon the Cadmea at Thebes and occupying it with a garrison (383 B. C.). We are told that at this time Thebes was divided into two parties, one of which was favourable to the Spartans, and therefore, no doubt, oligarchic in its sympathies; the other was opposed to Sparta and represented the democratic tendencies of the city. At the head of the first was Leontiades; the second was led by Ismenias. When Phoebidas, the Spartan in command of the main body of the forces sent to Apollonia, was at Thebes on his way to Chalcidice, he entered into communication with Leontiades, and at his suggestion, or certainly with his connivance, he seized the acropolis of the city and garrisoned it with a part of his force. The party under Ismenias complained at Sparta of the conduct of Phoebidas, but they were met by Leontiades in person. The Spartans, for a pretence of justice, sent emissaries to Thebes to inquire into the matter. The result, as might indeed have been expected, was the confirmation of an act so obviously favourable to Spartan interests. Leon- *Spartans at Thebes.*
tiades and his party were triumphant. Ismenias was even condemned to death. For four years, from 383 B. C.

The Spartans seize the Cadmea, 383 B. C.

to 379 B.C., the citadel of Thebes remained in the possession of an alien garrison. It was then recovered by the daring and devotion of a few conspirators, among whom Mellon and Pelopidas were the chief. They had found shelter at Athens, where in concert with a party at Thebes they formed the desperate resolution to assassinate the Spartan commander and Leontiades. With this object they entered Thebes at night, in the disguise of peasants, and met at the house of Charon. On the evening of the next day, they were admitted, in the dress of women, to a banquet given in honour of Archias and Philippus, two of the Theban Polemarchs. These they immediately cut down. Thence Pelopidas and two others proceeded to the house of Leontiades, who was slain after a severe struggle. The gaol was then broken open, and the prisoners, who were for the most part men of the same party as the conspirators, were provided with arms. Epaminondas and his friends now joined the conspirators, who forthwith issued a proclamation that Thebes was once more free; every one to whom freedom was dear must appear in arms in the market-place. Pelopidas, Mellon, and Charon were chosen Boeotarchs. With the aid of some Athenian volunteers, the citadel, which was held by 1500 Spartans, was blockaded. After a slight resistance the Spartan commander came to terms, and the Thebans regained possession of their citadel.

- 15 The Spartans at once despatched a force under Cleombrotus to invade Boeotia. He was unable to recover the ground which had been lost, but his presence scared the Athenians into passing sentences of death and exile on two of their generals who had aided in the recovery of the Cadmea. Thespieae, Orchomenus, and Plataea were encouraged to stand by Sparta, and resist any aggression on the part of Thebes. After remaining about three weeks in Boeotia Cleombrotus retired, leaving Sphodrias behind him at Thespieae in command of a strong force. The proceedings of the Athenians during the seizure of the Cadmea had shown at once their hatred

and their dread of Sparta. But the cities were nominally at peace. This did not deter Sphodrias from attempting to eclipse the triumph of Phoebidas by an act of equal treachery and greater daring. By a rapid march he attempted to seize the Peiraeus, and thus render Athens as powerless as Thebes had been during the occupation of the Cadmea. His attempt failed. The Athenians lodged a complaint at Sparta against Sphodrias, but though the general was recalled, no further punishment was inflicted upon him. The flagrant injustice of this proceeding roused the Athenians to the utmost, (Xen. v. 4. 24). They secured the Peiraeus, and at once joined in an alliance with Boeotia against Sparta. Agesilaus met the coalition by invading Boeotia, but he achieved no striking success, and Phoebidas, whom he left behind to lay waste the territory, was soon afterwards slain. Nevertheless, the Spartans sent a mora or battalion to Thespieae, which formed their basis of operations in Southern Boeotia, and rebuilt the walls of Plataea, which they had themselves previously assisted to pull down to gratify the hatred of Thebes.

*Sphodrias
attempts to
seize the
Peiraeus.*

*Athenians
roused to
active
hostility.*

By these acts of aggression Sparta showed herself the common enemy of Greece. The leading statesmen of Athens, of whom Callistratus of Aphidnae was chief, seized the opportunity to establish a *new maritime league* (Archonship of Nausinicus, 378 B.C.). A conference was held at Athens, at which envoys from Chios, Byzantium, Mytilene, Rhodes, and other maritime cities were present, and a scheme of a league was drawn up. Every precaution was taken to avoid the evils which ruined the former Delian Confederacy. No Athenian citizen was to acquire property in the country of the allied states; there were to be no more 'cleruchies,' or colonies of occupation; every city enrolled in the league, great or small, had an independent vote, and Athens was merely the presiding city. Finally, the odious word *phoros* (tribute) was abolished, and *syntaxis* (or contribution) introduced in its place. At the same time the naval system of Athens was en-

*New Delian
League,
378 B.C.*

tirely remodelled with a view to the increase of the fleet. In the next year, 377 B.C., the league was joined by a considerable number of states of which Euboea was the chief; in

*Battle of
Naxos.*

376 (autumn) Chabrias, the Athenian general, gained a decisive victory at *Naxos* over the Spartan fleet under the command of Pollis.

- 17 Thus the Spartans found their power declining both by land and sea. Agesilaus, their greatest general, had been disabled by sickness in 377 B.C. and their fleet was now severely defeated. In 375 B.C. Timotheus, the son of Conon, did not hesitate to lay waste the Laco-

*Success of
Athenian
fleet.*

nian coast, and carry the war into the west, where

he secured Corcyra, Cephallenia, and Acarnania for Athens. The Spartans put out with a squadron under Nicolochus to check him, but were defeated at Alyzia. Under these circum-

*Proposals
for peace,
which are
broken off.*

stances proposals for peace were started in 374 B.C. between Athens, which was by no means satisfied with Thebes, and Sparta. But the terms fixed upon did not long remain in force. New quarrels broke out in Zacynthus, and during 373 B.C. the two cities

were again at war, about Corcyra. Sparta had now recourse to Persia, under whose superintendence the peace of Antalcidas had been brought about. The Persian king, on his part, was anxious for peace that he might more easily employ Grecian

*Renewed
proposals
for peace
between
Athens and
Sparta.
The
Congress.*

mercenaries in crushing the revolt which had broken out in Egypt. The Athenians on their part were alarmed by the state of affairs in Boeotia. The Thebans were gradually extending their authority. Thespieae and Tanagra had been deprived of their walls; the city of Plataea had been once more destroyed and the inhabitants driven out to Athens.

Thebes was also on excellent terms with Jason, who had established himself as a very formidable power in Thessaly. In the summer of 371 B.C. a congress was held at Sparta, at which it was resolved to re-establish a universal peace on the basis of the autonomy of the Greek cities. The immediate object

was of course to put an end to the growing power of Thebes, and restore independence to the cities of Boeotia. This was quite clear to Epaminondas, who attended the congress as one of the representatives of Thebes. When his turn came to subscribe the terms he claimed to sign on behalf of Boeotia, as Sparta had done for Laconia and Messenia. Agesilaus refused to allow him to do so. The congress broke up, and war was declared between Sparta and Thebes (371 B.C.).

*The
Thebans
excluded.*

There was already a Laconian army in Phocis under the 18 command of Cleombrotus. This was at once reinforced from Sparta and ordered to invade Boeotia. Cleombrotus took up his position at *Leuctra*, not far from Thespieae, with a force of 10,000 men (including 4000 Lacedaemonians and 1000 horse). The Theban army, 6000 strong, was under the command of Epaminondas and Pelopidas. They divided the force into an offensive and a defensive wing. The former, which was the left wing, bore down fifty deep upon the Spartans and Phocians who were drawn up twelve deep, under the command of Cleombrotus. The shock was irresistible. The king fell, and with him no fewer than 400 of the 700 Spartans, who formed the choicest flower of the army. The immediate consequences of this fatal defeat were avoided by the action of Jason of Pherae, who advised the Thebans to allow their defeated enemy to retire from Boeotia, and not to seek a second engagement with desperate men. The Athenians also by no means sympathised with the success of Thebes; and in the following year a new congress met at Athens, in which the terms of the peace agreed upon at Sparta were re-affirmed. But if the remainder of the Spartan army was saved, the power of Sparta was irretrievably broken. This was at once recognised in the cities of the Peloponnesus. The garrisons which had kept them under Spartan control were removed and their removal was followed by a wild outbreak of popular fury. Scenes of bloodshed took place in many cities: at Argos no fewer than 1200 of the prin-

*Battle of
Leuctra,
371 B.C.*

*Ruin of
Spartan
power.*

cipal citizens were beaten to death by the savage rabble. The citizens of Mantinea, who had been compelled by Sparta to pull down their walls, now began to rebuild them, and under the guidance of Lycomedes a Pan-Arcadian party grew up, which aimed at the union of the whole country in a single state entirely independent of Sparta. As the centre of the new state a great city was to be founded, and in 370 B.C. it was resolved to build Megalopolis on the Helisson, not far from the northern boundary of Sparta. The plan naturally met with opposition. It could not be carried out without breaking up a number of villages, and interfering with the pastoral life of the Arcadians. As a democratic movement it also met with the opposition of the oligarchs in the cities of Eastern Arcadia, who knew that their power would decline with that of Sparta. Thus Arcadia was divided, and the democratic party appealed to Epaminondas for aid.

*Scytalism
at Argos,
370 B.C.*

*Growth of
a Pan-
Arcadian
party.*

- 19 Since the battle of Leuctra he had been occupied in consolidating the power of Thebes in Boeotia. The assassination of Jason in the summer of 370 B.C. was a fortunate accident which left the Theban power without a rival in the north of Greece. The states in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, Phocis, Euboea, the tribes of Locris, the Malians and Oetaeans, even the Aetolians and Acarnanians recognised her supremacy. In December 370 B.C. Epaminondas felt himself at liberty to invade Peloponnesus. His immediate object was to crush the Laconian party in Arcadia, but this was practically accomplished before his arrival. He determined to attack Sparta herself. From Tegea he pushed on with four columns to Sellasia, and thence along the Eurotas. But he did not succeed in taking the city. After desolating the country down to Gytheum, he returned to Arcadia and assisted in building Megalopolis. Then he passed on to Messenia, and in order to detach the Messenians from Sparta and give them an independent life he founded the city of

*Epami-
nondas in
Pelo-
ponnesus.*

Messene at the western foot of Ithome, the old stronghold of the Messenians (369 B.C.), after which he returned to Thebes. This was a blow from which the Spartans never recovered. Their prestige was entirely destroyed, the chief source of their wealth and prosperity was taken from them, and a hostile city founded on their flank. For years to come their policy was determined by the desire to recover Messenia.

*Founding
of Messene.*

The period from 371 B.C. to 362 B.C. is the time of the supremacy of Thebes. Her conduct during these years was never forgotten or forgiven by Athens or Sparta. The ruthless severity with which she brought the towns of Boeotia into her power shocked those who sympathised in the true Greek spirit with the independence of every city, however small. The dominion of Athens over Attica, and of Sparta over Laconia and Messenia were established facts in Greece which had long ceased to attract attention. The rise of a new sovereignty created irritation. But the Theban power did not greatly increase in these ten years. For some time repeated invasions of the Peloponnesus were necessary to protect the new states there. Complications then occurred in the north, and finally Pelopidas was slain in Thessaly in 364 B.C. In their war with Elis, from 365 B.C., the united Arcadians conducted their cause with such brutality and recklessness that in 363 B.C. a great division arose among them, and it became necessary for Epaminondas once more to revisit the Peloponnesus with an army. The result was the battle of Mantinea (July, 362 B.C.) in which Epaminondas fell. The Thebans and Arcadians claimed the victory, but the result was too indecisive to influence the condition of affairs in the Peloponnesus. Xenophon remarks that the confusion and disturbance in Greece were even greater after the battle than before. But the death of the great Theban marked the end of his city's supremacy. There was no one to take his place in the field or in the council chamber. The power

*Supremacy
of Thebes,
371-362
B.C.*

*Death of
Epami-
nondas at
Mantinea,
362 B.C.*

of Thebes rapidly declined, but the hatred which her aggression had excited remained,—a vigorous force in Greek politics.

Athens took no part in these struggles which convulsed the centre of Greece. Her attention was directed to the north, in which, indeed, owing to the necessity of a constant corn supply, she was more interested.

Affairs of Macedon¹.

- 21 Amyntas, king of Macedon, died in the later part of the year 370 B. C. leaving three sons by his wife Eurydice,—Alexander, Perdicas, and Philip; and also three other sons by Gygaea,—Archelaus, Menelaus, and Arrhidaeus. Alexander succeeded him on the throne.

At this time the cruel and despotic conduct of Alexander of Pherae had roused the nobility of Thessaly, so that Alexander of Macedon was enabled to take part in the affairs of that country. At the request of the fugitive Aleuadae he marched against Larissa. This city he captured and also Crannon, but instead of restoring them to the Aleuadae he filled them with strong Macedonian garrisons. The Thessalians sought assistance from Thebes. Pelopidas drove out the garrisons, and entered Macedonia, where he found a contest raging for the possession of the throne. At the head of one party was Ptolemaeus, the son-in-law and paramour of Eurydice, the queen-dowager; at the head of the other was Alexander, the reigning king. To Ptolemaeus, Pelopidas assigned a separate kingdom in Bottiaea, and the city of Alorus; to Alexander he decreed the throne of Macedon. At the same time he demanded from Alexander thirty sons of the chief families of Macedon as sureties for his good conduct. These he took to Thebes, and among them may have been included Philip, the youngest brother of Alexander. The arrangement was, however, of brief duration. In 368 B. C. Alexander was murdered by the adherents of Ptolemaeus,

¹ See A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit.*

who with Eurydice now came to rule over Macedonia, as the guardian of Perdiccas, the brother and heir of Alexander. The Macedonians were roused to indignation by the unnatural conduct of the queen-mother. Pausanias, who was connected with the royal house, was recalled from banishment. From the Chalcidian peninsula onward he pursued a career of victory, and Macedonia appeared to be in his power. Eurydice, with her two sons Perdiccas and Philip (who if sent to Thebes had returned), fled for protection to Iphicrates the Athenian general, who had been sent out to recover Amphipolis. Iphicrates aided in expelling Pausanias, and Ptolemaeus was for the moment in a superior position. But the friends of the murdered Alexander had applied to Pelopidas who was in Thessaly. When Pelopidas appeared in Macedonia with his mercenaries, Ptolemaeus thought it advisable to enter into a compact with him, by which he undertook to administer the throne for the sons of Amyntas. Philip was now taken to Thebes.

The immediate result of this compact was that Ptolemaeus **22** opposed the Athenians in the war with Amphipolis. The Thebans desired the independence of the city, and Pelopidas on his embassy to the Great King (367 B. C.) had induced Persia to take it under his protection. But Persia did not maintain this position, for we find that Harpalus, the Persian satrap, placed a number of hostages from Amphipolis in the hand of Iphicrates the Athenian general (Grote, 7, 262). *Perdiccas.*

In 364 B. C. Perdiccas, who was now grown up, revenged on Ptolemaeus the death of his elder brother. He was desirous to be free from any dependence on Thebes and to humble Olynthus. For this purpose he entered into a league with Athens. Iphicrates, who had held command for three years, was superseded by Timotheus in 364 B. C., with whom Perdiccas arranged an attack on Olynthus, and the Chalcidian league. Timotheus took Torone and Potidaea, and defeated the confederate forces. Pydna and Methone also fell into his hands. But he failed to take Amphipolis, and as Charidemus, the subordinate in command of Iphicrates, had set at liberty the host-

C



ages which Harpalus had placed in the hands of Iphicrates, Amphipolis was as independent of Athens as ever.

As Pelopidas was now dead, and the danger from Thebes was past, Perdiccas saw the failure of the Athenians at Amphipolis with pleasure. His present object was to prevent his allies from occupying so strong a position in his neighbourhood. When Callisthenes, who succeeded Timotheus, appeared before Amphipolis, he met him in arms, and compelled him to make peace on such terms that on his return to Athens the general was put on his trial. Nor did any better fortune attend an attempt which in 360 B.C. Timotheus again made on Amphipolis.

The reign of Perdiccas was not of long continuance. In 359 B.C. he was defeated in battle by the Illyrians and fell with 4000 Macedonians. It is doubtful whether he died on the field, or was wounded and afterwards poisoned. By some his death was ascribed to Eurydice, by others to the jealousy of the Macedonian nobles, who were irritated by the king's preference for foreigners.

23 He was succeeded by his brother Philip, who ascended the throne in 359 B.C. Never perhaps did a prince succeed to a position of greater danger and difficulty. His

PHILIP.

country was surrounded by enemies and disturbed by internal factions. The success of the Illyrians encouraged the Paeonians to recommence their predatory inroads on the North. Other hostile forces were called in by the various pretenders to the throne, to support their claims in this period of Macedonian weakness. Pausanias, who had previously contested the throne against Ptolemaeus and Eurydice, was now assisted by Cotys, the king of Thrace; Argæus had the support of the Athenian army of three thousand men, under Mantias, in attempting to recover the position he had for some time maintained in the reign of Amyntas. A third competitor was Archelaus, the eldest son of Amyntas and Gygaea, though we do not know that he took any active measures to support his claim.

*Claimants
of the
throne.*

Philip succeeded in gaining the Macedonians to his side : Archelaus also soon fell into his hands and paid for his presumption with his life. The remaining enemies Philip divided, for it was of the utmost importance to prevent a united attack. He bought off the Paeonians ; by a personal visit he induced the Thracian king, Cotys, to withdraw from the cause of Pausanias. (Cotys was soon afterwards murdered ; and of Pausanias we hear no more.) Argaeus was defeated in an unsuccessful attack on Aegae, and disappears from sight. Thus the pretenders to the throne were removed ; Amyntas indeed, the young son of Perdiccas, was allowed to grow up in the court of Philip, but he remained inactive till the accession of Alexander, when he entered into a conspiracy which cost him his life. The external enemies were of more importance. With the Athenians Philip sought to make terms of peace, in order to be able to turn against his more pressing neighbours on the North. Some Athenians had been taken prisoners in the defeat of Argaeus at Aegae ; these he not only released without ransom, but restored to them what they had lost by plunder. He then sent an autograph letter to Athens, proposing peace, and formally renouncing his claims to Amphipolis. The Athenians readily listened to these proposals—they had been on excellent terms with Amyntas—and Antiphon and Charidemus were commissioned to carry them out. Philip was to aid the Athenians to recover Amphipolis ; Pydna was to be given up to Philip. The arrangement was kept secret from the Pydnaeans, towards whom the Athenians were guilty of shameful treachery. To insure greater secrecy the commissioners reported to the senate, not to the people.

*External
enemies.*

*Philip
and the
Athenians.*

Philip now attacked the neighbouring tribes. The Paeonians 24 were defeated and compelled to recognize the supremacy of Macedonia. The Illyrians under Bardylis fought fiercely for their freedom, but they also were defeated and Bardylis was slain, with more than 7000 of his people. Philip pursued them to the Lake

*Paeonians
and
Illyrians.*

Lychnidus and secured the passes of the mountains on the West. The Illyrians were compelled to sue for peace and withdraw their garrisons from Macedonia (358 B.C.).

The next step was in the opposite direction, towards Amphipolis. This city had shown itself hostile to Philip, and he had promised to put it in the hands of the Athenians, whose many endeavours to recapture it had hitherto been unsuccessful. The attack was unexpected; the city sent Hierax and Stratocles to Athens for aid, choosing to surrender to that city rather than fall into the hands of the Macedonians. The Olynthians also sent an embassy to Athens at the same time; but Philip outbid them by a letter in which he renounced his claim to Amphipolis, and promised to give the city to the Athenians. Amphipolis was taken after a vigorous resistance (357 B.C.). But so far from giving up the place to Athens, Philip dismissed the Athenian party, and sought to reconcile the Amphipolitans to his supremacy. Thus this important town, with its excellent harbour, and command of the route to Thrace and passage of the Strymon, was for ever lost to Athens and added to the Macedonian kingdom.

- 25 The conduct of Philip in regard to Amphipolis naturally led to a war with Athens, which continued till the peace of Philocrates in 346 B.C. The war was never carried on

*War with
Athens,
357-346
B.C.*

with vigour; at times it was a question whether the Athenians were at war or not—and therefore it never prevented Philip from pursuing his own schemes. In 358 B.C. the confederacy which had been formed twenty years before, under the supremacy of Athens, fell to pieces, and the *Social War* (356-355 B.C.) occupied the energies and drained the resources of the city at the time when she might without difficulty have crushed the rising power in Macedonia.

After gaining Amphipolis Philip seized Pydna. In this he was aided by traitors, whom he appears to have slain at the taking of the city. In order to prevent the Olynthians from interfering in aid of Pydna he gave up Anthemus to them;

and promised to put Potidaea, an Athenian colony, in their hands. This city, the key of the Isthmus of Pallene, and distant but a few miles from Olynthus, had been taken from the Olynthians by Timotheus and occupied by Athenians (supr. § 22).

Pydna,
357 B.C.

Philip (leaving Parmenio to deal with the Illyrians, who were still troublesome) undertook the siege in person, and carried it on at great cost. The Potidaeans were unable to resist, and the assistance sent from Athens came too late. The Athenian colonists were sent home without ransom, but their property was confiscated; the rest of the inhabitants were sold. The city and its territory were handed over to the Olynthians.

Potidaea,
356 B.C.

In the same year Philip made an important acquisition **28** towards the North. The inhabitants of Crenides were unable to resist the attacks of the Thracians and sought his assistance. He defeated the Thracians, and added to the Macedonian kingdom the whole region as far as the Nestus, including the rich mines of Pangaeum. To secure this territory he founded the new city of Philippi, where he placed the Crenidians, together with some inhabitants of the neighbouring towns. The yearly income derived from the acquisition and improved working of the mines is said to have been more than 1000 talents. About this time Philip may also have visited Thessaly and entered into relations with the Aleuadae, whom he assisted against the tyrants of Pherae.

Philip in
Thrace.

Philippi.

Such successes naturally awakened alarm in the neighbouring states. Cersobleptes, king of Thrace, the son and heir of Cotys, arranged with the princes of the Paeonians and Illyrians to make a combined attack on the growing power of the Macedonians. Philip attacked them before they had time to unite, and compelled the Paeonian and Illyrian princes to submit. He appears to have secured his victory by the erection of fortresses in Illyria.

Subjugation
of the
Paeonians
and
Illyrians,
355 B.C.

27 As he was now master of a considerable sea-board Philip established a fleet. With this he took possession of Halonnesus, an island off the coast of Thessaly, which was infested with pirates; landed on Lemnos and Imbros and captured some Athenians. Macedonian vessels seized a number of merchant-men off Geraestus in Euboea, and even carried off the sacred trireme from Marathon. These successes were obtained by the spirit and enterprise of the commanders rather than by any superiority of force; for even in 351 B.C. Demosthenes considers 10 triremes sufficient to hold Philip in check.

*Philip's
fleet,
353 B.C.*

28 In 353 B.C. Philip attacked Methone, the only city in the neighbourhood of the coast which had been hitherto left unassailed. The inhabitants defended themselves bravely—it was here that Philip lost his right eye—

Methone.

but it was in vain; the assistance from Athens came, as usual, too late. The city was destroyed and the land divided among Macedonian settlers. In the same year Philip attacked Onomarchus, the Phocian chief, and the tyrants of Pherae in Thessaly; he was defeated and forced to retire; but in the spring of 352 B.C. he again returned with a new army, and crushed the Phocians who since 357 had been carrying on a war against Thebes with the help of the treasury of Delphi. The Thessalians handed over Pagasae and Magnesia to him as tokens of gratitude, and he might have entered even into Southern Greece had not the Athenians roused themselves sufficiently to prevent his passage through Pylae. From this point, the most southerly as yet reached by his arms, the king turned to the North, and invaded Thrace.

*Philip in
Thessaly.*

In Thrace. Cersobleptes was compelled to give up his son as a hostage, and Philip was able to enter into a league with the Byzantines and Perinthians. Philip's activity was now checked by a serious illness, and rumours of his death reached Athens. But he recovered, and proceeded with his plans of aggression as vigorously as before.

It was about this time that Demosthenes directed the attention of the Athenians to the growth of Philip's power in the Oration known as the First Philippic. The precise date of the Oration is uncertain. It belongs in all probability to the spring of 351 B. C. For (1) *First Philippic.* Dionysius places it, or the first part of it, in the archonship of Aristodemus, July 352–July 351 B. C.—(2) The events in Thessaly, including the attempt on Pylae, the expedition to Thrace and even against Olynthus are mentioned (§ 17), and the illness of Philip is a topic of conversation. (3) The proposals of Demosthenes are such as would be most seasonable in the spring. The Oration cannot be later than 351 B. C., for in 350 (spring) occurred the expedition to Euboea, sent out to the assistance of Plutarchus. But the mention of Euboea in § 17 makes it clear that the last expedition which had then occurred was that of 358 B. C., when the Thebans were driven out of the island (De Chers. § 74)¹.

About two years elapsed between the delivery of the first Philippic and the first Olynthiac. These years were occupied politically by troubles in Euboea; and for Demosthenes they were years of distress, owing to the conduct of Meidias².

About the time when preparations were being made for the Euboean war (350 B. C.), the Olynthians sent an embassy to Athens asking for aid, as their freedom was threatened by Philip. Philip had previously made a sudden attack on the city in 351 B. C. (Phil. 1. § 17), *Olynthus.* which however was without effect; and even before, in 352 B. C., the Olynthians had become so alarmed by their solitary position in front of the ever-increasing Macedonian power that they had made peace, separately from Philip, with Athens. This feeling continued to grow, and the Olynthians now sent a request to Athens for cavalry. To meet the emergency an appeal was made for voluntary trierarchs, and part of the cavalry destined for Euboea was ordered to go, if possible, to Olynthus.

¹ Schaefer, *op. cit.* ii. 65 ff.

² Schaefer, *op. cit.* ii. 103 ff.

Philip made no open advance till he had practically secured everything by means of his partizans in the various cities of Chalcidice. At Olynthus Lasthenes, Euthykrates, and the Macedonian party were so powerful that Apollonides, who opposed them, was banished. When the moment appeared to have come, he advanced with his army against Olynthus, though

*Philip
attacks
Olynthus.*

he still made strong protestations of his peaceful intentions. He demanded that his step-brother Arrhidaeus should be given up ; but the Olynthians regarded this merely as a pretext, and refused it. They saw that far greater interests were at stake, and resolved to resist all demands. They sent an embassy to Athens to enter into a treaty with that city (349 B.C.). This was an event which the Athenians had long hoped for. They desired to see Olynthus at war with Philip. Apparently, Olynthus was still a powerful city, which could place 10,000 hoplites in the field, though her power had been grievously weakened by internal dissension and treachery. If Olynthus were saved, there would be a hostile city on the borders of Philip, to check the freedom of his movements. It was obviously the duty of Athens to secure this advantage ; to engage Philip at home and prevent him from interfering in the politics of Hellas. Yet to send efficient help to Olynthus would require vigorous exertion and some sacrifice, and of this the Athenians were incapable. An alliance was indeed made with Olynthus, and Chares was sent to their aid with 2000 mercenaries and 30 triremes. Whether he really went is doubtful ; if he did, he accomplished nothing. The opportunity was allowed to pass away.

- 31 Philip appears to have accomplished little in Chalcidice in the autumn of 349 B.C. He passed towards the end of the year into Thessaly, where discontent was growing. The Thessalians were unwilling that Pagasae should remain in the king's hands, and Magnesia become a fortified position ; above all, that the imports of their markets and harbours should be applied by Philip to his own uses.

*Philip in
Thessaly.*

Supported by this feeling, Pitholaus reestablished himself at Pherae. Philip was too well aware of the importance of Thessaly for his designs to allow himself to be driven from his position there. He abandoned Chalcidice and turned his forces against Pherae. Pitholaus was driven out, and Philip more firmly established in Thessaly than ever.

In the spring of 348 B.C. he was again in Chalcidice. The Olynthians had meanwhile sent a second embassy to Athens asking for help, and Charidemus was ordered to Olynthus with 18 triremes, 4000 foot, and 150 horse. Among the latter may have been Menelaus, the step-brother of Philip, who perhaps wished to join Arrhidaeus. The Olynthians now took the offensive, and obtained some slight advantage. But these successes vanished at the approach of Philip, who took one town after another, and was even in doubt which to take first, so many were the offers made to him by treacherous partizans. At Sane the commander is said to have caused a wagon filled with stones to be placed in the gateway to prevent the closing of the gates. The Olynthians were defeated in two battles, and an attempt at negotiation was met by the answer that they must cease to dwell in Olynthus or Philip in Macedonia. In the extremity of their need they sent a third embassy to Athens, entreating aid,—not mercenaries, but Athenian soldiers. This time the Athenians roused themselves sufficiently to send 17 triremes, 2000 infantry and 300 cavalry under Chares. But it was too late: the Etesian winds were blowing and the squadron could not sail. Olynthus was taken in the summer of 348 B.C.

*Fall of the
Chalcidic
cities.*

The capture was due to treachery. Olynthus could not be reduced by siege for she had command of the sea. Philip's attempts to take the city by storm failed. He had, therefore, recourse to his usual method. He purchased Lasthenes and Euthycrates, the commanders of the Olynthian cavalry, who placed in his hands 500 horse, one half of the entire corps, and opened a way

*Fall of
Olynthus.*

into the town. The city was destroyed; the inhabitants who were taken were sold into slavery. The two half-brothers of Philip, Menelaus and Arrhidaeus, were put to death. The spoils of the Olynthians were distributed among the friends of Philip. Aeschines saw a train of thirty Olynthian captives following Atrestidas to Arcadia, and Philocrates brought Olynthian women to Athens. Chalcidice was made a part of the Macedonian kingdom. So complete was the desolation of the country that hardly any ruins remained to attest the existence of the thirty-two Chalcidian cities.

The text is printed from Bekker's stereotyped edition, Leipzig; with a very few alterations in punctuation and accents. The pages in the margin are those of Reiske's edition. In the usual order of the orations chronology is disregarded and the First Philippic is placed after the Third Olynthiac. In the present edition the orations are placed in chronological order. Hence the marginal pages of Philippic I, which in numerical order follow those of Olynthiac III, here precede the pages of Olynthiac I. The notes subjoined to the text give the readings of the following editions:—

D. = Dindorf's edition, Oxford, 1846.

Z. = Zurich edition, 1839-1843.

B¹. = Bekker's First edition, Oxford, 1823.



FIRST PHILIPPIC.

| *Ei* μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινὸς πράγματος πρῶτῃ τίθετο 40
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λέγειν) ἐπισχῶν ἂν
 ἕως οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην
ἀπεφάναντο, κεί μὲν ἤρεσκε τί μοι τῶν
 ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἤγον,
 εἰ δὲ μή, τότε ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἃ γινώσκω λέγειν·
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὔτοι πρότερον
συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς
 εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὔτοι συνεβούλευσαν,
 οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλευέσθαι.

*This is no
 new subject,
 and therefore
 I may speak
 at once.*

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι 2
 τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ φαύ-
 λως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. ὃ γὰρ ἐστὶ χείριστον
 αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο
 πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί
 οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ὅτι οὐδὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι τῶν δέοντων ποιοῦντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα
 ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι εἰ πάνθ' ἃ προσῆκε πραττόντων οὔτως

*We must not
 be dispirited
 at the past;
 if we do our
 duty all will
 be well.*

3 εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα
 ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν
 αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησκομένοις, ἡλικίην ποτ' ἐχόντων δύναμιν
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, ὡς καλῶς καὶ
 προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως,
 ἀλλ' ὑπεμείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων¹ τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους
 41 πόλεμον. τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα | ταῦτα λέγω; ἴν' εἰδήτε ὦ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ θεάσθητε ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττο-
 μένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ φοβερὸν οὔτ', ἂν ὀλιγορήτε, ^{5th ch 45} τοιοῦτον
 οἶον ἂν ὑμεῖς * βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τῇ
 τότε βόμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ
 προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει
 τούτου, δι' ἣν ταραττόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν
 4 ἐχρῆν. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δυσπολέ-
 μητον οἶεται τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι, σκοπῶν
 τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ ^{of the city of his disposal} δυνά-
 μεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι
 τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται, λογισάσθαι
 μέντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι εἶχομέν ποτε ἡμεῖς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 Πύδναν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τῶν
 τόπον τοῦτον οἰκείον κύκλω, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου
 νῦν ὄντων ἔθνων αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὑπήρχον
 καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως ἢ ^{7th ch 11} κείνους.

*Philip is
indeed a
formidable
enemy;*

¹ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων D. * βούλοισθε Dobree, βούλησθε MSS. B¹. ² κείνῳ D. Z. after B¹.

εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, ὡς 5
 χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι τοσαῦτα
 ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον ὄντα συμμάχων,
 οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην
 ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. ἀλλ' εἶδεν ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκείνος, ὅτι ταῦτα *but if we
follow his
example
of daring
activity*
 μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἄθλα τοῦ
 πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει
 τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν
 καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων. καὶ γὰρ τοι ταύτη 6
 χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει,
 τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἐλών τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ
 φίλα ποιησάμενος | καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν 42
 τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες οὓς ἂν ὀρώσι παρε-
 σκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἂ χρή. ἂν τοίνυν
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐβελήσητε
 γενέσθαι γνώμης, νῦν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ 7
 ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, οὐ δεῖ καὶ δύναται ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν
 χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, πᾶσαν ἀφείδς τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἔτοιμος
 πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ'
 ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, — συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς ἦν ὑμῶν
 αὐτῶν ἐβελήσητε γενέσθαι καὶ παύσησθε *we may yet
recover what
we have
lost.*
 αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων,
 τὸν δὲ πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν,
 καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν κομεισθε, ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ¹, καὶ

¹ θελῃ D. Z.

καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; ^{in negligence} 'τέθνηκε Φίλιππος;' 11
οὐ μὰ Δί'. 'ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ;' τί δ ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ
γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον
ποιήσετε, ἄνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν
νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ
βῶμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν
ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο. εἴ
τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν, ἥπερ
ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, ^{It is our negligence which has made Philip} 12
καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο, ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν
ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες ὅπως βού-
λεσθε διοικήσασθε, ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε, οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν.
καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύναισθ' ἂν, ἀπηρτημένοι
καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαῖς.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας 13
ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντας ἐτοιμῶς, ὡς ἐγνωκότων
ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων·
τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς ἦν ἀπαλλά-
ξαι ἂν τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς² οἴομαι³, καὶ τὸ
πλήθος ὅσον, καὶ πόρους οὐστίνας χρημάτων, καὶ
τάλλα ὡς ἂν μοι βέλτιστα καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρα-
σκευασθῆναι, | καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν, δεθηεῖς ὑμῶν 44
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοσοῦτον. ἐπειδὴν ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, 14
κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε μηδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
δοκῶ τινὶ καινὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με

¹ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο om. D. ² ἡμᾶς Z. ³ ἠγοῦμαι B¹.

πορίσαντες τούτοις προστίθετε, ἂν ἐλάττω φαίνηται.
 21 λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας δισχιλίους, τούτων
 δὲ Ἀθηναίους φημί δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ἧς ἂν
 τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχειν δοκῆ, χρόνον τακτὸν
 στρατευομένους, μὴ μακρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῆ

46 *The combination of citizens with mercenaries is necessary.* καλῶς | ἔχειν, ἐκ ^{καὶ ἐκ} διαδοχῆς ^{καὶ ἄλλων} ἀλλήλοισ' τοὺς δ'
 ἄλλους ξένους εἶναι κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ τού-
 των ἰππέας διακοσίους, καὶ τούτων πεντή-
 κροντα Ἀθηναίους τοῦλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς

22 πεζοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους· καὶ ἰππαγω-
 γοὺς τούτοις. εἶεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; ταχείας τριήρεις
 δέκα· δεῖ γάρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, καὶ ταχειῶν
 τριήρων ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις πλέη. πόθεν
 δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφή γενήσεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω
 καὶ δείξω, ^{ὡς ἴσως} ἐπειδὴν, διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι
 τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι
 κελεύω, διδάξω.

23 *Advantages of a moderate force. Evils of employing mercenaries only.* Τοσαύτην μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ
 ἐνὶ νῦν ἡμῖν ^{to make his in the field} πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνω
 παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ ^{to be able} ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη
 καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι
 τὴν πρώτην· οὐ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκόν αὐτῆν
 (οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς οὐδὲ τροφή) οὐδὲ παντελῶς τα-
 πεινὴν εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας δὲ παρ εἶναι καὶ συμπλεῖν
 διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' ἀκούω ξενικὸν
 τρέφειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὗ Πολύστρατος ἠγεῖτο

καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, καὶ αὐτοὺς
 ὑμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι· καὶ οἶδα ἀκούων ὅτι Λακεδαι- 24
 μονίους παραταπτόμενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐνίκων οὔτοι οἱ
 ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐκείνων. ἐξ οὗ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ
 τὰ ξενικὰ ὑμῖν στρατεύεται, τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς
 συμμάχους, οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ μείζους τοῦ δέοντος γεγόνασιν.
 καὶ ^{looking carefully at} παρακύναντα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς
 Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχοῖ μᾶλλον οἴχεται πλέοντα, ὁ
 δὲ στρατηγὸς | ἀκολουθεῖ, εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρχειν 47
 μὴ δίδόντα μισθόν. τί οὖν κελεύω; τὰς προφάσεις 25
 ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρα-
 τιώτας οἰκειοὺς ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν στρα-
 τηγουμένων παρακαταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ νῦν
 γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὡς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν.
 εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτό τις ὑμᾶς, εἰρήνην ἄγετε, ὦ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε, εἴποιτ' ἄν,
 ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν. οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δ' ἐξ 26
 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ φυ-
 λάρχους καὶ ἰππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν οὔτοι ποιοῦσιν;
 πλημὴ ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, δὴ ἂν ἐκπέμψητε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον,
 οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πόμπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱερο-
 ποιῶν ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους, εἰς
 τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς
 φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ὦ 27
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἰππάρχους

*At present we
do not even
pay our troops
and our
generals, and
the war is
little better
than a jest.*

ράδιον καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι ραδίως ἔσται^{†1}

33 Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστὰς ὑφ' ὑμῶν βουλευσεται ἃ δ' ὑπάρξαι δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ γέγραφα.

The force to remain on the spot, and check Philip's depre-dations.

ἂν ταῦτα ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πορίσητε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἶτα καὶ τᾶλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς

τριήρεις, τοὺς ἰππέας, ἐντελῇ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ζητοῦντες, παύσεσθ' ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ πλέον

34 οὐδὲν ποιῶντες, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθε. ἔστι δ' οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων

ὑμῖν πολεμῆ συμμάχων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν θάλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ ὥσπερ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Λῆμνον καὶ Ἰμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους ᾤχετ' ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ τὰ πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευ-

50 ταῖα εἰς Μαραθῶνα | ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ᾤχετ' ἔχων τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα ἠδύνασθε².

¹ Immo εἴσεσθε B¹.

² δύνασθε D. Z.

κωλύειν οὐτ' εἰς τοὺς χρόνους οὓς ἂν προθῆσθε βοηθεῖν. V^{se!}
καίτοι τί δὴ ποτε ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζετε τὴν 35

μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων, ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων
ἀεὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίνεσθαι, ἂν τε δεινοὶ
λάχωσιν ἂν τε ἰδιῶται οἱ τούτων ἑκατέρων *Expeditions to*
ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκεται ¹ *be arranged as*
carefully as
χρήματα ὅσα οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, *festivals.*

καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ², ὅσῃν οὐκ οἶδ'
εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας
ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν
εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν; ὅτι ἐκείνα μὲν 36
ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν
ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς φυλῆς,
πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν,
οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμέληται,
ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου παρα-
σκευῇ ἄτακτα ἀδιόρθωτα ἀόριστα ἅπαντα. τοιγαροῦν
ἅμα ἀκηκδάμεν τι καὶ τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν καὶ
τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων
πάρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς
μετοίκους ³ ἔδοξε καὶ τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, εἴτε αὐτοὺς
πάλιν ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἴτε ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται, 37
προαπόλωλε τὸ ἐφ' ³ ὃ ἂν ἐκπλέωμεν τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράτ-
τειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ

¹ ἀναλίσκετε B¹.

² τοσαύτην παρασκευὴν D. B¹.

³ προαπόλωλεν ἐφ' ἃ B¹.

favorable moments

τῶν πραγμάτων καιροὶ οὐ μένουσι¹ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυ-
τῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἄς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις
οἰόμεθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἶαί τε οὐσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ'
51 αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὑβρεως
ἐλήλυθεν ὥστ' ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἤδη τοιαύτας
ἐπιστολάς.

Demosthenes here reads Philip's letter to the Euboeans.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

38 Τούτων ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων
This is more salutory than pleasant to listen to. ἀληθῆ μὲν ἐστι τὰ πολλά, ὡς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ
μὴν ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ἠδέα ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' εἰ
μὲν, ὅσα ἂν τις ὑπερβῆ τῷ λόγῳ ἵνα μὴ
λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ὑπερβῆσεται, δεῖ πρὸς
ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν. εἰ δ' ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ἧ μὴ
προσῆκουσα, ἔργῳ ζημία γίνεταί, αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν ὦ
39 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι φενακίζεῖν ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀνα-
βαλλομένους ἂν² ἡ δυσχερῆ πάντων ὑστερίζειν³ τῶν
ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς
ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγ-
μασιν ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀξιῶσειέ
τις ἂν⁴ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἵν' ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῆ, ταῦτα
πράττηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντα ἀναγκάζωνται διώκειν.

¹ οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ Z.

² ὅσα B¹.

³ ὑστερεῖν D.

⁴ ἂν τις B¹.

Ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύναμιν 40
 ἀπάντων ἔχοντες, τριήρεις ὀπλίτας ἱππέας, *You must use*
 χρημάτων πρόσδοτον, τούτων μὲν μέχρι τῆς *your powers*
 τῆμερον ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πώποτε *and not wait*
 εἰς θεόν *for events.*
 τι κέχρησθε, ¹ οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε, ὡσπερ ¹ οἱ βάρβαροι
 πυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω πολεμεῖν ¹ Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ?
 ὁ ^{the same sense as the} πληγεὶς αἰεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, κὰν ἐτέρωσε πα-
 τάξης, ἐκείσέ εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέ-
 πειν ἐναντίον οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐθέλει. καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἐν 41
 Χερρονήσῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκείσε βοηθεῖν | ψηφί- 52
 ζεσθε, ἐὰν ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκείσε, ἐὰν ἄλλοθί που, ⁱⁿ συμπα-
 ρθεῖτε ^{you are} ἄνω κάτω, καὶ στρατηγείσθε μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου,
 βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖ συμφέρον *Philip's rest-*
 τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων *lessness is a*
 προοράτε οὐδέν, πρὶν ἂν ἡ γεγενημένον ἢ *Providence*
 γιγνόμενόν τι πύθησθε, ταῦτα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν
 ἐνῆν· νῦν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ^{the very case} ἤκει τὴν ἀκμὴν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ' 7
 ἐγχωρεῖ. ¹⁵ ¹⁸ ²⁵ ³⁵ ⁴⁵ δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 42
 τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυνόμενος τὴν
 φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ
 ἔχων ἂ κατέστραπται καὶ προεἶληφεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν
 ἤθελε καὶ μηδὲν ἔπραττεν ἔτι, ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἂν
 μοι δοκεῖ, ἐξ ὧν αἰσχυρὴν καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ
 αἰσχιστα ὠφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν δημοσίᾳ· νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν
 αἰεὶ τινι καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέ-

¹ οὐδενὸς δ' ἀπολείπεσθε. ὡσπερ δὲ—πολεμεῖτε B¹.

43 σαιθ' ὑμᾶς, εἶπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκατε. θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμεῖται μήτ' ὀργίζεται, ὁρῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου γεγεννημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευταίην οὔσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μὴ τις κωλύσει. εἶτα τοῦτ' ἀναμενοῦμεν, καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος

44 ἐλπίδας ἐὰν¹ ἀποστείλητε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα; οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τινι στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πλευσόμεθα; ποῖ οὖν προσορμιούμεθα; ἤρετό

53 *We shall achieve nothing if we sit inactive at home.* τις. εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρὰ ὧ | ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἀν' ἐπιχειρῶμεν· ἀν' μέντοι καθώμεθα οἴκοι, λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιω-

μένων ἀλλήλους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ²

45 μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἀν' οἶμαι μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῆ, κὰν μὴ πᾶσα³, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης συναγωνίζεται· ὅποι δ' ἀν' στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψητε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν δεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελωσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθναῖσι

46 τῷ δέει τοιοῦτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἓνα ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναί ποτε ταῦθ' ὑμῖν πρᾶξαι πάνθ'.

¹ ἀν D.

² οὐ om. D.

³ πᾶσα παρῆ D. B¹.

ὅσα βούλεσθε ὑποσχεσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν δείνα
 αἰτίασασθαι καὶ τὸν δείνα ἔστιν. τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τού-
 των ἀπόλων ἐστιν ὅταν γὰρ ἡγήται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλιῶν
 ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνος πράξῃ πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι ραδίως ἐνθάδ' ὡσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἀκού-
 σθε ὅ τι ἂν τύχητε ψηφίσησθε, τί καὶ χρη προσδοκᾶν;

Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς ὦ ἄνδρες 47
 Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώ-
 τας καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγουμένων καὶ
 δικαστὰς οἱκαδ' ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν,
 ὥστε μὴ ἀκούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέτερόν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ παρόντας ὄραν. νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκει τὰ πράγματα.
 αἰσχύνῃς ὥστε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς
 κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ἅπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου
 τολμᾷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνδραποδιστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν
 θάνατον μᾶλλον αἰροῦνται | τοῦ προσήκοντος· κακούργου 54
 μὲν γάρ ἐστι κριθέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχό-
 μενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὑμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιμόντες μετὰ 48
 Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων
 κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις
 πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς
 πόλεις ^{ἑτοιμασμένοι} τείχιζεν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάττοντες
 ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἔγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν,
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνον
 μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ

We must
 send out
 citizen
 soldiers.

Philip is in-
 toxicated with
 success, but
 we need not
 believe every-
 thing we hear. 49

- τοιαῦτα ὄνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν
 κωλυσόντων ὄρωντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπῆρμένον,
 οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δί' οὕτω προαιρεῖσθαι πράττειν ὥστε
 τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί μέλλει
 ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες.
- 50 ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς
 ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον
 πολλὸν ὑβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πρόποτ' ἠλπίσασμέν τινα
 πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὐρηταί, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
 ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστί, κἂν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν
 αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν,—ἂν
 ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ
 λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ' ἔσται δεῖ
 σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλ', ἂν μὴ προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι
 τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητ', εὖ εἰδέναι.
- 51 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἀλλοτε πρόποτε πρὸς χάριν
 εἰλόμην λέγειν, ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν
 πεπεισμένος ὦ, νῦν τε ἂ γινώσκω πάνθ'
 ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑπостειλάμενος, πεπαρρη-
 55 σίασμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὥσπερ | ὅτι
 ὑμῖν συμφέρεи τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι
 συνοῖσον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι· πολλῶ γὰρ ἂν
 ἡδιον εἶπον. νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀσθενοῦσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων
 ἑμαυτῷ γένησομένοις, ὁμῶς ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν, ἐὰν
 πράξητε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἰρούμαι. νικῶν
 ὅ τι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

*I have spoken
 openly and for
 your good
 rather than
 for my own.*

FIRST OLYNTHIAC.

'ΑΝΤΙ πολλῶν ἂν ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι χρημάτων θ
 ὑμᾶς ἐλέσθαι νομίζω, εἰ φανερόν γένοιτο *Let every
 τὸ μέλλον συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει περὶ ὧν speaker be
 νυνὶ σκοπεῖτε. ὅτε τοίνυν τοῦθ' οὕτως heard, for
 ἔχει, προσήκει προθύμως ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν advice is
 τῶν βουλομένων συμβουλεύειν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἴ τι greatly
 χρήσιμον ἐσκεμμένος ἦκει τις, τοῦτ' ἂν ἀκούσαντες needed.
 λάβοιτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης ὑπολαμβάνω
 πολλὰ τῶν δεόντων ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐνίοις ἂν
 ἐπελθεῖν εἰπεῖν, ὥστ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ραδίαν τὴν τοῦ
 συμφέροντος ὑμῖν αἴρεσιν γενέσθαι.*

'Ο μὲν οὖν παρῶν καιρός, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, 2
 μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιεῖς ὅτι τῶν *We must
 πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς ἀντιληπ- take an
 τέον ἐστίν, εἴπερ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν¹ active part ;
 φροντίζετε· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὄντινά μοι send help
 δοκοῦμεν ἔχειν τρόπον πρὸς αὐτά. ἔστι δὴ τά γ' and an-
 ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα ψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἤδη τὴν βοήθειαν, nounce it.*

¹ αὐτῶν Z. B¹.

καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι τὴν ταχίστην ὄπως ἐνθένδε
 *βοηθήσετε καὶ μὴ πάθητε ταῦτόν ὄπερ καὶ πρότερον,
 10 πρεσβείαν δὲ πέμπειν | ἥτις ταῦτ' ἐρεῖ καὶ παρέσται
 3 τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς ἔστι μάλιστα τοῦτο δέος, μὴ
 πανούργος ὢν καὶ δεινὸς * ἄνθρωπος πράγμασι χρῆσθαι,
 τὰ μὲν εἰκων, ἠνίκα ἂν τύχη, τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν (ἀξιό-
 πιστος δ' ἂν εἰκότως φαίνοιτο), τὰ δ' ἡμᾶς διαβάλλων
 καὶ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, †τρέψηται καὶ
 4 παρασπάσηταί τι τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'
 ἐπιεικῶς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦθ', ὃ δυσμαχώτατόν
 ἔστι τῶν Φιλίππου πραγμάτων, καὶ βέλτιστον ὑμῖν
 τὸ γὰρ εἶναι πάντων ἐκεῖνον ἓνα ὄντα
 κύριον καὶ ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων, καὶ ἅμα
 στρατηγὸν καὶ δεσπότην καὶ ταμίαν, καὶ
 πανταχοῦ αὐτὸν παρεῖναι τῷ στρατεύματι,
 πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ταχὺ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν
 πράττεσθαι πολλῶ προέχει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς καταλλαγάς,
 ἃς ἂν ἐκεῖνος ποιήσαιτο ἄσμενος πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους,
 5 ἐναντίως ἔχει. δῆλον γάρ ἐστι τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις βε-
 νῦν οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μέρους χώρας πολεμοῦσιν,
 ἀλλ' ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πατρίδος,
 καὶ ἴσασιν ἅ τ' Ἀμφιπολιτῶν ἐποίησε τοὺς παραδόντας
 αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν καὶ Πυδναίων τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους
 καὶ ὄλως ἄπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυραννίς,

*Philip's ab-
 solute rule
 is a help
 to Athens.*

* βοηθήσετε Bekk., βοηθήσητε MSS.

* ἄνθρωπος Bekk., ἄνθρωπος MSS.

ἄλλως τε κὰν ὁμορον χώραν ἔχωσι. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγνωκότας 6
 ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τᾶλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντα
 ἐνθυμουμένους φημὶ δεῖν ἐβελήσαι καὶ παροξυνθῆναι
 καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν, εἴπερ ποτέ, καὶ νῦν, χρήματα
 εἰσφέροντας προθύμως καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξιόντας καὶ μηδὲν
 ἐλλείποντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγος οὐδὲ σκῆψις *The crisis*
 ἔθ' ὑμῖν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν *has come ;*
 ὑπολείπεται. νυνὶ γάρ, ὃ πάντες ἐθρύλουν *no excuse*
remains. 7
 τέως, Ὀλυνθίους ἐκπολεμῶσαι¹ δεῖν | Φιλίππῳ, γέγονεν 11
 αὐτόματον, καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν μάλιστα συμφέροι.
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεισθέντες ἀνειλοντο τὸν πόλεμον,
 σφαλεροὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ² ταῦτ' ἂν ἐγνωκότες
 ἦσαν ἴσως· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλημάτων
 μισοῦσι, βεβαίαν εἰκὸς τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν
 φοβοῦνται καὶ πεπόνθασιν ἔχειν. οὐ δεῖ δὴ τοιοῦτον 8
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι παραπεπτωκότα καιρὸν ἀφεῖναι,
 οὐδὲ παθεῖν ταῦτ' ὅπερ ἤδη πολλάκις πρότερον πε-
 πόνθατε. εἰ γάρ, ὅθ' ἤκομεν Εὐβοέυσι βεβοηθηκότες
 καὶ παρῆσαν Ἀμφιπολιτῶν Ἰέραξ καὶ *Athenian*
 Στρατοκλῆς ἐπὶ τουτὶ τὸ βῆμα, κελεύοντες *losses are*
 ἡμᾶς πλεῖν καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν πόλιν, *due to*
 τὴν αὐτὴν παρειχόμεθ'. μείς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προ- *remissness.*
 θυμίαν ἤνπερ ὑπὲρ τῆς Εὐβοέων σωτηρίας, εἴχετ'
 ἂν Ἀμφίπολιν τότε καὶ πάντων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἂν

¹ ἐκπολεμῆσαι D. cf. Ol. 3, § 7. ὡς Ὀλ. ἐκ. δεῖ B¹.

² μέχρι του D. Z. B¹.

- 9 ἦτε ἀπηλλαγμένοι πραγμάτων. καὶ πάλιν ἤνικα Πύδνα Ποτίδαια Μεθώνη Παγασαί, τᾶλλα, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγων διατρίβω, πολιορκούμενα ἀπηγγέλλετο, εἰ τότε τούτων ἐνὶ¹ τῷ πρώτῳ προθύμως καὶ ὡς προσῆκεν ἐβοηθήσαμεν αὐτοί, ῥάονι καὶ πολὺ ταπεινοτέρῳ νῦν ἂν ἐχρώμεθα τῷ Φιλίππῳ. νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν παρὸν αἰεὶ προϊέμενοι, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα αὐτόματ' οἴομενοι σχήσειν καλῶς, ἠῤῥήσαμεν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι Φίλιππον ἡμεῖς, καὶ κατεστήσαμεν τηλικούτον ἡλικίος οὐδεὶς πω βασιλεὺς γέγονε Μακεδονίας. νυνὶ δὴ² καιρὸς ἤκει τις οὗτος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων αὐτόματος τῇ πόλει, ὃς οὐδενὸς ἐστὶν ἐλάττων τῶν
- 10 προτέρων³ ἐκείνων. καὶ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τις ἂν ὧ ἄνδρες
- 12 Ἀθηναῖοι δίκαιος λογιστῆς | τῶν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν ὑπηρεγμένων⁴ καταστάς, καίπερ οὐκ ἐχόντων ὡς δεῖ πολλῶν, ὅμως μεγάλην ἂν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς χάριν, εἰκότως τὸ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπολωλέκεναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θείῃ δικαίως, τὸ δὲ μήτε πάλαι τοῦτο πεπονθέναι πεφηνέναι τέ τινα ἡμῖν συμμαχίαν τούτων ἀντίρροπον, ἂν βουλώμεθα χρῆσθαι, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίας εὐεργέτημ' ἂν ἔγωγε θείην.
- 11 ἀλλ' οἶμαι, παρόμοιόν ἐστὶν ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων κτήσεως· ἂν μὲν γάρ, ὅσα ἂν τις λάβῃ, καὶ σῶσῃ, μεγάλην ἔχει τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν, ἂν δ' ἀναλώσας λάθῃ, συνανάλωσε καὶ τὸ μεμνήσθαι τὴν

¹ ἐνὶ τῷ D. B¹. ² νῦν ἤδη Z. ³ πρότερον Z. ⁴ ὑπηρετημένων Z.

χάριν. καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως οἱ μὴ χρη-
 σάμενοι τοῖς καιροῖς ὀρθῶς, οὐδ' εἰ συνέβ
 τι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν χρηστὸν, μνημονεύουσι
 πρὸς γὰρ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκβὰν ἕκαστον
 τῶν¹ πρὶν ὑπαρξάντων κρίνεται. διὸ καὶ
 σφόδρα δεῖ τῶν λοιπῶν ἡμᾶς ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 φροντίσαι, ἵνα ταῦτ' ἐπανορθωσάμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 πεπραγμένοις ἀδοξίαν ἀποτριψώμεθα. εἰ δὲ προησό- 12
 μεθα ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
 εἴτ' Ὀλυνθον ἐκεῖνος καταστρέψεται, φρασάτω τις
 ἐμοὶ τί τὸ κωλύον ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἔσται βαδίζειν ὅποι
 βούλεται. ἄρα² λογίζεται τις ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν τρόπον δι' ὃν μέγας γέγονεν ἀσθενῆς
 ὢν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος; τὸ πρῶτον
 Ἀμφίπολιν λαβὼν, μετὰ ταῦτα Πύδναν,
 πάλιν Ποτίδαιαν, Μεθώνην αὖθις, εἴτα
 Θετταλίας ἐπέβη· μετὰ ταῦτα Φερὰς Παγασὰς Μαγ- 13
 νησίαν, πάνθ' ὃν ἐβούλετο εὐτρεπίσας τρόπον | ᾗχετ' 13
 εἰς Θράκην· εἴτ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς δὲ
 καταστήσας τῶν βασιλέων ἡσθένησε· πάλιν ραῖσας
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ραθυμεῖν ἀπέκλινεν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς Ὀλυνθίοις
 ἐπεχείρησεν. τὰς δ' ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Παίονας αὐτοῦ
 καὶ πρὸς Ἀρύμβαν καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν εἴποι παραλείπω
 στρατείας.

*If we lose
 this oppor-
 tunity, what
 check have we
 on Philip?*

*Observe the
 rise of
 Philip's
 power.*

Τί οὖν, τίς ἂν εἴποι, ταῦτα λέγεις ἡμῖν νῦν; ἵνα 14

¹ τῶν προυπαρξάντων D. B¹., τῶν ὑπαρξάντων Z. ² ἀρά γε B¹.

γνώτε ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ αἰσθηθε ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὸ προῖεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον αἰεί τι τῶν πραγμάτων

Negligence ὡς ἀλυσιτελέες, καὶ τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην
is fatal. ἢ χρῆται καὶ συζῆ Φίλιππος, ὑφ' ἧς οὐκ

ἔστιν ἄπως ἀγαπήσας τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡσυχίαν σχήσει. εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν ὡς αἰεί τι μείζον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δεῖ πράττειν ἐγνωκῶς ἔσται, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀντιληπτέον ἐρρωμένως τῶν πραγμάτων, σκοπεῖσθε εἰς,

15 τί ποτ' ἐλπίς ταῦτα τελευτῆσαι.* πρὸς θεῶν, τίς οὕτως εὐήθης ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν πόλεμον δεῦρο ἤξοντα, ἂν ἀμελήσωμεν; ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτο γενήσεται, δέδοικα ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ οἱ δανειζόμενοι ραδίως ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις τόκοις μικρὸν εὐπορήσαντες χρόνον ὕστερον καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπέστησαν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ πολλῷ φανῶμεν ἐρραθυμηκότες¹, καὶ ἅπαντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ζητοῦντες πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ὦν οὐκ ἠβουλόμεθα ὕστερον εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔλθωμεν ποιεῖν, καὶ κινδυνεύσωμεν περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ.

16 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἴσως φῆσαι τις ἂν ράδιον καὶ παντὸς εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ὅ τι
Assistance δεῖ πράττειν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τοῦτ' εἶναι συμ-
must be sent,
(1) to relieve βούλου. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες
Olynthus;
(2) to attack
Macedonia. 14 Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦθ', ὅτι πολλάκις | ὑμεῖς οὐ
τοὺς αἰτίους ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων

¹ ἐρραθυμηκότες D. B¹.

εἰπόντας ἐν ὀργῇ ποιῆσθε, ἂν τι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην
 ἐκβῆ· οὐ μὴν οἶομαι¹ δεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσφάλειαν
 σκοποῦνθ' ὑποστεῖλασθαι περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν συμφέρειν
 ἡγοῦμαι. φημὶ δὴ διχῆ βοηθητέον εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασιν 17
 ὑμῖν, τῷ τε τὰς πόλεις τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις σώζειν καὶ
 τοὺς τοῦτο ποιήσοντας στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ τῷ
 τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τριήρεσι καὶ
 στρατιώταις ἑτέροις· εἰ δὲ θατέρου τούτων ὀλιγορήσετε,
 ὀκνῶ μὴ μάταιος ὑμῖν ἡ στρατεία γένηται. εἴτε γὰρ 18
 ὑμῶν τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιούντων ὑπομείνας τοῦτο
 Ὀλυνθον παραστήσεται, ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἔλθων
 ἀμυνεῖται· εἴτε βοηθησάντων μόνον ὑμῶν εἰς Ὀλυνθον
 ἀκινδύνως ὀρῶν ἔχοντα τὰ οἴκοι προσκαθεδεῖται καὶ
 προσεδρεύσει τοῖς πράγμασι, περιέσται τῷ χρόνῳ
 τῶν πολιορκουμένων. δεῖ δὴ πολλὴν καὶ διχῆ τὴν
 βοήθειαν εἶναι.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς βοηθείας ταῦτα γιγνώσκω· περὶ 19
 δὲ χρημάτων πόρου, ἔστιν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι χρήματα ὑμῖν, ἔστιν ὅσα οὐδενὶ² τῶν
 ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων στρατιωτικά, ταῦτα δὲ
 ὑμεῖς οὕτως ὡς βούλεσθε λαμβάνετε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα 20
 τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἀποδώσετε, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν προσδεῖ
 πόρου, εἰ δὲ μὴ, προσδεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπαντος ἐνδεῖ τοῦ
 πόρου. τί οὖν, ἂν τις εἴποι, σὺ γράφεις ταῦτ' εἶναι
 στρατιωτικά; μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι

¹ οἶμαι D. B¹. ² οὐδέσι D.

στρατιώτας δεῖν κατασκευασθῆναι καὶ εἶναι¹ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ μίαν σύνταξιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε λαμβάνειν καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὕτω πως ἄνευ
 15 πραγμάτων λαμβάνειν² εἰς τὰς ἐορτάς. ἔστι δὲ | λοιπόν, οἶμαι, πάντας εἰσφέρειν, ἂν πολλῶν δέῃ, πολλά, ἂν
Money must ὀλίγων, ὀλίγα. δεῖ δὲ χρημάτων, καὶ ἄνευ
be had. τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἄλλοι πόρους, ὧν ἔλεσθε ὅστις ὑμῖν συμφέρειν δοκεῖ, καὶ ἕως ἔστι καιρός, ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων.

21 Ἄξιον δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ λογίσασθαι τὰ πράγματα, ἐν ᾧ καθέστηκε νυνί, τὰ Φιλίππου. οὔτε γάρ, ὡς δοκεῖ καὶ φήσειέ τις ἂν μὴ σκοπῶν ἀκριβῶς, εὐτρεπῶς, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν κάλλιστ' αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντ' ἔχοι.³ οὐτ' ἂν ἐξήνεγκε τὸν πόλεμόν ποτε τοῦτον ἐκεῖνος, εἰ πολεμεῖν ᾗθη δεήσειν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπιὼν ἅπαντα τότε ἤλπιζε τὰ πράγματα ἀναιρήσεσθαι, κατὰ διέψευσται. τοῦτο δὲ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ταραττει παρὰ γνώμην γεγονός, καὶ πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν
 22 αὐτῷ παρέχει, εἴτα τὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἄπιστα μὲν ἦν δήπου φύσει καὶ ἀεὶ πᾶσιν
especially ἀνθρώποις, κομιδῇ, δ', ὥσπερ ἦν, καὶ ἔστι
his difficulties νῦν τούτῳ. καὶ γὰρ Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν
in Thessaly. αὐτόν εἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι, καὶ Μαγνησίαν κεκωλύκασι

¹ καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι Z., [ταῦτ'] B¹, καὶ—στρατιωτικὰ om. D.

² λαμβάνετε D. B¹.

³ ἔχει D. Z.

τειχίζειν. ἤκουον δ' ἔγωγε τινῶν ὡς οὐδὲ τοὺς λιμένας
καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἔτι δώσοιεν αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι· τὰ γὰρ
κοινὰ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων δέοι διοικεῖν, οὐ
Φίλιππον λαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀποστερηθήσεται
τῶν χρημάτων, εἰς στενὸν κομιδῇ τὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς
ξένοις αὐτῷ καταστήσεται. ἀλλὰ μὴν τόν γε Παίονα ²³
καὶ τὸν Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ ἀπλῶς τούτους ἅπαντας ἠγεῖσθαι
χρῆ αὐτονόμους ἡδίων ἂν καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἢ δούλους
εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἀήθεις τοῦ κατακοῦειν τινός εἰσι, καὶ
ἄνθρωπος ὑβριστής, ὡς φασιν· καὶ μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν ἄπιστον
ἴσως· τὸ γὰρ | εὐ πράττειν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀφορμὴ ¹⁸
τοῦ κακῶς φρονεῖν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις γίγνεται, διόπερ
πολλάκις δοκεῖ τὸ φυλάξαι τὰγαθὰ τοῦ
κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι. δεῖ τοίνυν *We must*
ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἀκαιρίαν *make the best* ²⁴
τῆν ἐκείνου καιρὸν ὑμέτερον νομίσαντας *of this op-*
ἑτοίμως συνάρασθαι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ *portunity, as*
πρεσβευομένους ἐφ' ἃ δεῖ καὶ στρατευομένους αὐτοὺς *Philip would*
καὶ παροξύνοντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, λογιζομένους, *if he had the*
εἰ Φίλιππος λάβοι καθ' ἡμῶν τοιοῦτον καιρὸν καὶ *power.*
πόλεμος γένοιτο πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν οἴεσθε
ἑτοίμως ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν. εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε, εἰ μῆδ'
ἃ πάθοιτ' ἄν, εἰ δύναιτ' ἐκεῖνος, ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καιρὸν
ἔχοντες οὐ τολμήσετε;

*Ἐτι τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μῆδὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ²⁵
λανθανέτω, ὅτι νῦν αἵρεσις ἔστιν ὑμῖν πότερ' ὑμᾶς



ἐκεῖ χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκείνον. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ ἀντέχῃ τὰ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖ πολεμήσετε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιήσετε, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ

We have to choose between war at Olynthus and in Attica. τὴν οἰκείαν ταύτην ἀδεῶς καρπούμενοι ἂν δ' ἐκεῖνα Φίλιππος λάβῃ, τίς αὐτὸν ἔτι κωλύσει δεῦρο βαδίζειν; Θηβαῖοι; ¹ μὴ

26

λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἦ, καὶ συνεισβαλοῦσιν ἐτοίμως. ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς; οἱ τὴν οἰκείαν οὐχ οἰοί τε

ὄντες φυλάττειν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθήσῃ ὑμεῖς. ἢ ἄλλος τις; ἀλλ' ὦ τῶν οὐχὶ βουλήσεται. τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων μὲντ' ἂν εἴη, εἰ ἂ νῦν ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνων ὄμως ἐκλαλεῖ,

27 ταῦτα δυνηθεῖς μὴ πράξει. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα γ' ἐστὶ τὰ διάφορα ἐνθάδε ἢ ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν, οὐδὲ λόγου προσδεῖν ἡγοῦμαι. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς δεήσειεν αὐτοὺς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας μόνas ἕξω γενέσθαι καὶ ὅσα ἀνάγκη στρατο-

17 πέδῳ χρωμένους τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας | λαμβάνειν, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ πολεμίου λέγω, πλέον ἂν οἶμαι ζημιωθῆναι τοὺς γεωργοῦντας ὑμῶν ἢ ὅσα εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ πόλεμον δεδαπάνησθε. εἰ δὲ δὴ πόλεμός τις ἦξει, πόσα χρὴ νομίσαι ζημιώσεσθαι; καὶ προσέσθ' ἢ ὕβρις καὶ ἔτι ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃ, οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων ζημίας τοῖς γε σώφροσιν.

28 Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δεῖ συνιδόντας ἅπαντας βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀπωθεῖν ἐκείσε τὸν πόλεμον, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους, ἴν' ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν ὦν καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἔχουσι

¹ οἱ εἰ μὴ (ἦ om.) D.

μικρὰ ἀναλίσκοντες τὰ λοιπὰ καρπῶνται ἀδεῶς, τοὺς
 δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐμπειρίαν ἐν τῇ
 Φιλίππου χώρα κτησάμενοι φοβεροὶ φύλακες τῆς
 οἰκείας ἀκεραίου γένωνται, τοὺς δὲ λέ-
 γοντας, ἵν' αἱ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων αὐτοῖς
 εὐθυναὶ ῥάδιαι γένωνται, ὡς ὅποι' ἄττ' ἀν
 ὑμᾶς περιστῆ τὰ πράγματα, τοιοῦτοι κριταὶ
 καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε. χρυστὰ δ' εἶη
 παντὸς εἵνεκα¹.

*We have all
 interests at
 stake, and
 must unite
 to send help.*

¹ ἕνεκα D.

SECOND OLYNTHIAC.

18

| 'ΕΠὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἂν τις ἰδεῖν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι

*Heaven has
shown us
especial
favour; we
must not be
unworthy
of it.*

δοκεῖ μοι τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὖνοιαν
φανερὰν γιγνομένην τῇ πόλει, οὐχ ἥκιστα
δὲ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι· τὸ γὰρ τοὺς
πολεμήσοντας Φιλίππῳ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ
χώραν ὄμορον καὶ δύναμιν τινα κεκτη-
μένους, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀπάντων, τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου
γνώμην τοιαύτην ἔχοντας ὥστε τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνον
διαλλαγὰς πρῶτον μὲν ἀπίστους εἶτα τῆς ἑαυτῶν
πατρίδος νομίζειν ἀνάστασιν¹, δαιμονία τινὲ καὶ θεία
² παντάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσία. δεῖ τοίνυν ὧ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτ' ἤδη σκοπεῖν [αὐτούς]², ὅπως μὴ χείρους
περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι³ δόξομεν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ὡς
ἔστι τῶν αἰσchrῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν αἰσχίστων, μὴ μόνον
πόλεων καὶ τόπων ὧν ἡμὲν ποτε κύριοι φαίνεσθαι

¹ ἀνάστασιν εἶναι DB¹.

² αὐτούς (sine canc.) D. Z. B¹.

³ δόξομεν Bekk., δόξωμεν MSS.

προϊεμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρασκευασθέντων συμμάχων καὶ καιρῶν.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Φιλίππου βῶμην ³ διεξιέναι καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν λόγων προτρέπειν τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἠγοῦμαι. διὰ τί; ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν φιλοτιμίαν¹, ἡμῖν δ' οὐχὶ καλῶς πεπραῆχθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὅσῳ πλείονα ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν πεποίηκε τὴν αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτῳ θαυμαστότερος παρὰ πᾶσι νομίζεται· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅσῳ χεῖρον ἢ προσήκε κέχρησθε τοῖς πράγμασι, τοσοῦτῳ πλείονα αἰσχύνην ὠφλήκατε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ⁴ μετ' | ἀληθείας τις ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι σκοποῖτο, ¹⁹ ἐνθένδ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἴδοι μέγαν γεγενημένον, οὐχὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ. ὧν οὖν ἐκείνος μὲν ὀφείλει τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένοις χάριν, ὑμῖν δὲ δίκην προσήκει λαβεῖν, οὐχὶ ² νῦν ὀρῶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ λέγειν. ἅ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἔτι, καὶ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἀκηκοέναι πάντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ μεγάλα ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι κατ' ἐκείνου φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὀνειδίη βουλομένοις ὀρθῶς δοκιμάζειν, ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν πειράσομαι.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπίορκον καὶ ἄπιστον καλεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ ⁵ τὰ πεπραγμένα δεικνύναι λοιδορίαν εἶναι τις ἂν φήσειε κενὴν δικαίως· τὸ δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα πάποτ' ἔπραξε, διεξιόντα ἐφ' ἅπασιν τούτοις ἐλέγχειν καὶ βραχέος λόγου

¹ φιλοτιμίαν τινὰ D. B¹.

² τούτων οὐχὶ D. Z.

I will not dwell on Philip's power, which is a credit to him and a disgrace to us.

συμβαίνει δεῖσθαι, καὶ δυοῖν ἕνεκα ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν
 εἰρήσθαι, τοῦ τ' ἐκείνον, ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς
Philip's power is approaching its decline. ὑπάρχει, φαῦλον φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ τοῦς
 ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους ὡς ἄμαχόν τινα τὸν
 Φίλιππον ἰδεῖν ὅτι πάντα διεξελέλυθεν οἷς πρότερον
 παρακρούμενος μέγας ἠύξῃθη, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἤκει
 6 τὴν τελευταίην τὰ πράγματ' αὐτοῦ¹. ἔγὼ γὰρ ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι σφόδρ' ἂν ἡγούμην καὶ αὐτὸς φοβερὸν τὸν
 Φίλιππον καὶ θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ δίκαια πράττοντα
It is founded on dishonesty. ἑώρων αὐτὸν² ἠύξημένον· νῦν δὲ θεωρῶν καὶ
 σκοπῶν εὐρίσκω τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν εὐήθειαν
 τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, ὅτε Ὀλυμβίους ἀπήλαιον τινες ἐνθένδε
 βουλομένους ἡμῖν³ διαλεχθῆναι, τῷ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν
 φάσκεν παραδώσειν καὶ τὸ θρυλούμενόν ποτε ἀπόρ-
 ρητον ἐκείνο κατασκευάσαι, τούτῳ προσαγαγόμενον,
 7 τὴν δ' Ὀλυμβίων φιλίαν μετὰ ταῦτα τῷ Ποτίδαιαν
 20 οὔσαν ὑμετέραν ἐξελεῖν | καὶ τοῦς μὲν πρότερον συμμά-
 χους ὑμᾶς ἀδικῆσαι, παραδοῦναι δὲ ἐκείνοις, Θετταλοὺς
 δὲ νῦν τὰ τελευταῖα τῷ Μαγνησίαν παραδώσειν ὑπο-
 σχέσθαι καὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον πολεμήσειν ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν ἀναδέξασθαι. ὅλως δὲ⁴ οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὄντιν' οὐ
 πεφενάκικεν ἐκείνος τῶν⁵ αὐτῷ χρησαμένων· τὴν γὰρ
 ἐκάστων ἄνοιαν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῶν καὶ
 8 προσλαμβάνων οὕτως ἠύξῃθη. ὥσπερ οὖν διὰ τούτων

¹ αὐτῷ B¹. ² αὐτὸν om. D. ³ ὑμῖν Z. ⁴ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς D.

⁵ αὐτῷ D. B¹. and in next line αὐτὸν *idd.*

ἦρθη μέγας, ἡνίκα ἕκαστοι συμφέρον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῖς
 ῥοντό τι πράξειν, οὕτως ὀφείλει διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων
 καὶ καθαιρεθῆναι πάλιν, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ἕνεκα *Which is now*
 ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν ἐξελέλεγκται. καιροῦ μὲν δὴ *detected.*
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι Φιλίππῳ τὰ
 πράγματα· ἢ παρελθὼν τις ἐμοί, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑμῖν
 δεξιάτω ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λέγω, ἢ ὡς οἱ τὰ
 πρῶτα ἐξηπατημένοι τὰ λοιπὰ πιστεύουσιν, ἢ ὡς οἱ
 παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀξίαν δεδουλωμένοι Θετταλοὶ νῦν οὐκ
 ἂν ἐλεύθεροι γένοιτο ἄσμενοι.

Καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ὑμῶν ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχειν ἡγείται, 9
 οἶεται δὲ βία καθέξειν αὐτὸν τὰ πράγματα
 τῷ τὰ χωρία καὶ λιμένας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα *His power*
 προσηφέναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἶεται. ὅταν μὲν *though great*
 γὰρ ὑπ' εὐνοίας τὰ πράγματα συστήῃ καὶ *is not solid*
 πᾶσι ταῦτ' ἀνεχούσιν τοῖς μετέχουσιν τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ *and will fall*
 συμπονεῖν καὶ φέρειν τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ μένειν ἐθέλου- *to pieces.*
 σιν ἄνθρωποι.¹ ὅταν δ' ἐκ πλεονεξίας καὶ πονηρίας τις
 ὥσπερ οὗτος ἰσχύσῃ, ἢ πρώτη πρόφασις καὶ μικρὸν
 πταῖσμα ἅπαντα ἀνεχαίτισε καὶ διέλυσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, 10
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἐπιπορκοῦντα
 καὶ ψευδόμενον δύναμιν βεβαίαν | κτήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ 21
 τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς μὲν ἄπαξ καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει,
 καὶ σφόδρα γε ἤνθησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἂν τύχῃ, τῷ
 χρόνῳ δὲ φωρᾶται καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ. ὥσπερ

¹ οἱ ἄνθρωποι Z. B¹.

γὰρ οἰκίας, οἶμαι, καὶ πλοίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων τὰ κάτωθεν ἰσχυρότατα εἶναι δεῖ, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ δικαίας εἶναι προσήκει. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἐν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις Φιλίππῳ.

11 Φημὶ δὴ δεῖν ὑμᾶς τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυνθίοις βοηθεῖν, καὶ ὅπως τις λέγει κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα, οὕτως ἀρέσκει μοι· πρὸς δὲ Θετταλοὺς πρεσβείαν πέμπειν, ἢ τοὺς μὲν διδάξει ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ παροξυνεῖ· καὶ γὰρ νῦν

12 εἰσὶν ἐψηφισμένοι Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ περὶ Μαγνη-

Embassies without assistance are useless. σίας λόγους ποιεῖσθαι. σκοπεῖσθε μέντοι τοῦτο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅπως μὴ λόγους ἐροῦσι μόνον οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν πρέσβεις, ἀλλὰ

καὶ ἔργον τι δεικνύειν ἔξουσιν ἐξεληλυθότων ἡμῶν ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς ἅπασ μὲν λόγος, ἂν ἀπῆ τὰ πράγματα, μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ παρὰ τῆς ἡμέτερας πόλεως ὅσῳ γὰρ ἐτοιμότατ' αὐτῷ δοκοῦμεν χρῆσθαι, τοσούτῳ

13 μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσι πάντες αὐτῷ. πολλὴν δὴ τὴν μεταστασιν καὶ μεγάλην δεικτέον τὴν μεταβολήν, εἰσφέ-

You must also exert yourselves and take the field. ροντας, ἐξιόντας, ἅπαντα ποιοῦντας ἐτοιμῶς, εἶπερ τις ὑμῖν προσέξει τὸν νοῦν. κὰν ταῦτα ἐθελήσητε ὡς προσήκει καὶ δεῖ¹

περαίνειν, οὐ μόνον ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ συμμαχικὰ
22 ἀσθενῶς καὶ ἀπίστως ἔχοντα φανήσεται | Φιλίππῳ,

¹ δὴ D.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως κακῶς ἔχοντα ἐξελεγχθήσεται.

Ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις καὶ ἀρχὴ ἐν 14
 μὲν προσθήκης μέρει ἐστὶ τις οὐ μικρά¹, οἷον
 ὑπῆρξέ ποθ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου πρὸς Ὀλυν- *Macedon is not*
 θίους· πάλιν αὖ πρὸς Ποτίδαιαν Ὀλυνθίοις *a substantial*
 ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο συναμψότερον· νυνὶ δὲ Θετταλοῖς *power.*
 στασιάζουσι καὶ τεταραγμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν
 οἰκίαν ἐβοήθησε· καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν, οἶμαι, προσθῆ καὶ
 μικρὰν δύναμιν, πάντ' ὠφελεῖ. αὐτὴ δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν
 ἀσθενῆς καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐστὶ μεστή. καὶ γὰρ 15
 οὗτος ἅπασιν τούτοις οἷς ἂν τις μέγαν αὐτὸν ἠγήσαιοτο,
 τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις, ἔτ' *And Philip has*
 ἐπισφαλεστέραν² ἢ ὑπῆρχε φύσει κατε- *weakened it.*
 σκεύακεν ἑαυτῷ. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς Φίλιππον τε χαίρειν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχο-
 μένους, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ τοῦτο ἐζήλωκε,
 καὶ προήρηται πράττων καὶ κινδυνεύων, ἂν συμβῆ τι, 16
 παθεῖν, τὴν τοῦ διαπράξασθαι ταῦτα ἄ μηδεὶς πώποτε
 ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀσφα-
 λῶς ἠρημένος· τοῖς δὲ τῆς μὲν φιλοτιμίας τῆς ἀπὸ
 τούτων οὐ μέτεστι, κοπτόμενοι δὲ ἀεὶ ταῖς στρατείαις
 ταύταις ταῖς ἄνω κάτω λυποῦνται καὶ *His people are*
 συνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦσιν, οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔρ- *discontented.*
 γοῖς οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις ἐώμενοι διατρίβειν, οὐθ'

¹ σμικρὰ B¹.

² ἐπισφαλεστέραν αὐτὴν D. B¹.

- ὅσ' ἂν πορίσωσιν¹ οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται, ταῦτ' ἔχοντες
 διαθέσθαι κεκλειμένων τῶν ἐμπορίων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ
 17 διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ Μακεδόνων πῶς
 23 *His companions are worth-* ἔχουσι Φιλίππῳ, ἐκ | τούτων ἂν τις σκέψ-
less and dis- αιτο οὐ χαλεπῶς· οἱ δὲ δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν
solute men. ὄντες ξένοι καὶ πεζέταιροι δόξαν μὲν ἔχου-
 σιν ὡς εἰσὶ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ συγκεκροτημένοι τὰ τοῦ
 πολέμου, ὡς δ' ἐγὼ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ γεγενημένων
 τινὸς ἤκουον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμῶς οἴου τε ψεύδεσθαι,
 18 οὐδένων εἰσὶ βελτίους. * εἰ μὲν γὰρ τις ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ἐν
 αὐτοῖς οἷος ἔμπειρος πολέμου καὶ ἀγώνων, τούτους μὲν
 φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντα ἀπωθεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη, βουλόμενον πάντα
 αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰ ἔργα (πρὸς γὰρ αὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ
 τὴν φιλοτιμίαν² ἀνυπέβλητον εἶναι)· εἰ δέ τις σῶφρων ἢ
 δίκαιος ἄλλως³, τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ βίου καὶ
 μέθην καὶ κορδακισμοὺς οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν, παρε-
 ὤσθαι καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς εἶναι μέρει τὸν τοιοῦτον,
 19 λοιποὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι ληστὰς καὶ κόλακας καὶ
 τοιοῦτους ἀνθρώπους οἷους μεθυσθέντας ὀρχεῖσθαι
 τοιαῦτα οἶα ἐγὼ νῦν ὀκνῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαι. δῆλον
 δ' ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ· καὶ γὰρ οὓς ἐνθένδε πάντες
 ἀπήλαυνον ὡς πολὺ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν ἀσελγεστέρους
 ὄντας, Καλλίαν ἐκείνον τὸν δημόσιον καὶ τοιοῦτους
 ἀνθρώπους, μίμους, γελοίων καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχροῦς

¹ ποιήσωσιν D.² τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τανδρός D. B¹.³ ἄλλως τε D.

ἀσμάτων ὧν εἰς τοὺς συνόντας ποιούσιν ἔνεκα τοῦ
 γελασθῆναι, τούτους ἀγαπᾶ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει. καί- 20
 τοι ταῦτα, εἰ καὶ¹ μικρά τις ἡγεῖται, μεγάλα ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι δείγματα τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καὶ κακοδαιμο-
 νίας ἐστὶ τοῖς εὐ φρονούσι. ἀλλ' οἶμαι, νῦν μὲν ἐπι-
 σκοτεῖ τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν· αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δεινὰ
 συγκρῦψαι τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνειδῆ· εἰ δέ τι *And this*
 πταίσει, τότ' ἀκριβῶς αὐτοῦ ταῦτ' ἐξετα- *weakness will*
 σθήσεται. | δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- *be made clear*
 ναῖοι δείξειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἂν οἱ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ *in time.* 24
 ὑμεῖς βούλησθε. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, τέως² 21
 μὲν ἂν ἐρρωμένος ἦ τις, οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεται³, ἐπὰν δὲ
 ἀρρώστημά τι συμβῆ, πάντα κινεῖται, κὰν ῥήγμα κὰν
 στρέμμα κὰν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ἦ, οὕτω
 καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν τυράννων, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἕξω
 πολεμῶσιν, ἀφανῆ τὰ κακὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστίν,
 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁμορος πόλεμος συμπλακῆ, πάντα ἐποίησεν
 ἔκδηλα.

Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Φίλιππον 22
 εὐτυχούντα ὀρών ταύτῃ φοβερὸν προσπο- *We have better*
 λεμῆσαι νομίζει, σῶφρονος μὲν ἀνθρώπου *reasons for*
 λογισμῶ χρηταί· μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή, μᾶλλον *hope than he*
 θε τὸ δλον ἢ τύχη παρὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων *has.*
 πράγματα· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, εἴ τις αἴρεσίν μοι δοίη, τὴν

¹ καὶ εἰ D.² ἕως D. Z.³ ἐπαισθάνεται τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα σαθρῶν D. Z. B¹.

τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως τύχην ἂν ἐλοίμην, ἐθελόντων ἂ προ-
 σήκει ποιεῖν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου·
 πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν
 23 εὐνοίαν ἔχειν ὀρώ ἡμῖν ἐνούσας ἢ ἐκείνῃ¹. Ἔαλλ' οἶμαι,
 καθήμεθα οὐδὲν ποιῶντες· οὐκ ἔνι δ' αὐτὸν ἀργοῦντα
 οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιτάττειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ποιεῖν, μή τί
 γε δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς. οὐ δὴ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν
 εἰ στρατευόμενος καὶ πονῶν ἐκείνος αὐτὸς
 καὶ παρῶν ἐφ' ἅπασιν καὶ μηδένα καιρὸν
 μηδ' ὄραν παραλείπων ἡμῶν μελλόντων καὶ ψηφίζο-
 μένων καὶ πυνθανομένων περιγίγνεται. οὐδὲ θαυμάζω
 τοῦτ' ἐγώ· τούναντίον γὰρ ἂν ἦν θαυμαστόν, εἰ μηδὲν
 ποιῶντες ἡμεῖς ὧν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι προσήκει τοῦ πάντα
 24 ποιῶντος² περιῆμεν. | ἀλλ' ἐκείνο θαυμάζω, εἰ Λακεδαι-
 μονίοις μὲν ποτε ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλη-
 νικῶν³ δικαίων ἀντήρατε, καὶ πολλὰ ἰδίᾳ
 πλεονεκτῆσαι πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐξὸν οὐκ
 ἠθελήσατε, ἀλλ' ἔν' οἱ ἄλλοι τύχῳσι τῶν
 δικαίων, τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀνηλίσκετε εἰσφέροντες καὶ
 προεκινδυνεύετε στρατευόμενοι, νυνὶ δ' ὀκνεῖτε ἐξιέναι
 καὶ μέλλετε εἰσφέρειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν
 κτημάτων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σεσώκατε πολλάκις
 πάντας καὶ καθ' ἓνα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερ'
 25 αὐτῶν ἀπολωλεκότες κάθησθε. ταῦτα θαυμάζω, καὶ
 ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις εἰ μηδὲ εἰς ὑμῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι

¹ ἢ κείνῃ D. ² ποιῶντος ἂ δεῖ D. B'. ³ [Ἑλληνικῶν] B'.

δύναται λογίσασθαι πόσον πολεμεῖτε χρόνον Φιλίππῳ,
 καὶ τί ποιούντων ὑμῶν ὁ χρόνος διελήλυθεν οὗτος. ἴστε
 γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐτέρους τινὰς
 ἐλπίζόντων πράξειν, αἰτιωμένων ἀλλήλους, κρινόντων,
 πάλιν ἐλπίζόντων, σχεδὸν ταῦτ' ἄπερ νυνὶ ποιούν-
 των ἅπας ὁ χρόνος διελήλυθεν. εἰθ' οὕτως ἀγνω- 26
 μόνως ἔχετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε
 δι' ὧν ἐκ χρηστῶν φαῦλα τὰ πράγματα
 τῆς πόλεως γέγονε, διὰ τούτων ἐλπίζετε
 τῶν αὐτῶν πράξεων ἐκ φαύλων αὐτὰ
 χρηστὰ γενήσεσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐτ' εὐλογον
 οὐτ' ἔχον ἐστὶ φύσιν τοῦτό γε· πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾶον ἔχοντας
 φυλάττειν ἢ κτήσασθαι πάντα πέφυκεν. νυνὶ¹ δὲ ὁ τι
 μὲν φυλάξομεν, οὐδέν ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λοιπὸν
 τῶν πρότερον, κτήσασθαι δὲ δεῖ. αὐτῶν οὖν ἡμῶν ἔρ- 27
 γον τοῦτ' ἤδη. φημὶ δὴ δεῖν εἰσφέρειν χρήματα, αὐτοὺς
 ἐξιέναι προθύμως, μηδέν αἰτιᾶσθαι πρὶν ἂν
 τῶν πραγμάτων κρατήσητε, τῆνικαῦτα δὲ
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων | κρίναντας τοὺς μὲν 28
 ἀξίους ἐπαίνου τιμᾶν τοὺς δ' ἀδικοῦντας κολάζειν, τὰς
 προφάσεις δ' ἀφελεῖν καὶ τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλλείμματα· οὐ
 γὰρ ἔστι πικρῶς ἐξετάσαι τί πέπρακται τοῖς ἄλλοις,
 ἂν μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ὑπάρξῃ τὰ δέοντα.
 τίνος γὰρ ἔνεκα ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζετε τοῦτον 28
 μὲν φεύγειν τὸν πόλεμον πάντας ὅσους ἂν ἐκπέμψῃτε

*The war has
 lingered on,
 and we expect
 a change
 though we do
 nothing to
 cause one.*

*It is useless to
 put generals on
 their trial.*

¹ νῦν D.

στρατηγούς, ἰδίους δ' εὐρίσκειν πολέμους, εἰ δεῖ τι τῶν
 ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰπεῖν.
Our generals go where they find pay. ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ ἄθλα, ὑπὲρ ὧν
 ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος, ὑμέτερα· Ἀμφίπολις κὰν
 ληφθῆ, παραχρῆμα αὐτὴν ὑμεῖς κομεισθε· οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι
 τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἴδιοι, μισθοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ἐκεῖ δὲ
 κίνδυνοι μὲν ἐλάττους, τὰ δὲ λήμματα τῶν ἐφεστηκότων
 καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Λάμψακος, Σίγειον, τὰ πλοῖα ἅ
 συλῶσιν. ἐπ' οὖν τὸ λυσιτελοῦν αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι χωροῦ-
 29 σιν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὅταν μὲν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψητε
 φαύλως ἔχοντα, τοὺς ἐφεστηκότας κρίνετε, ὅταν δὲ
 δόντες λόγον τὰς ἀνάγκας ἀκούσητε ταύτας, ἀφίετε.
 περίεστι τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐρίζειν καὶ διεστάναι,
 τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα πεπεισμένοις τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα, τὰ κοινὰ δ'
 ἔχειν φαύλως. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ὦ ἄνδρες
Our politics are the affair of a clique. Ἀθηναῖοι εἰσεφέρετε κατὰ συμμορίας, νυνὶ
 δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας. ῥήτωρ
 ἡγεμῶν ἐκατέρων, καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ
 βοησόμενοι, οἱ¹ τριακόσιοι· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσενέμησθε
 30 οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτους οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκείνους. δεῖ δὴ ταῦτα
 ἐπανέντας καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν γενομένους
 κοινὸν καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ βουλευέσθαι καὶ τὸ
 πράττειν ποιῆσαι. εἰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ τυραν-
 27 νίδος | ὑμῶν ἐπιτάττειν ἀποδώσετε, τοῖς δ' ἀναγκά-
 ζεσθαι τριηραρχεῖν εἰσφέρειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ

¹ οἱ om. D.

ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τούτων μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν
 συμπονεῖν, οὐχὶ γενήσεται τῶν δεόντων ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἐν
 καιρῷ· τὸ γὰρ ἡδίκημένον ἀεὶ μέρος ἐλλείψει, εἴθ'
 ὑμῖν τούτους κολάζειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιέσται¹.
 λέγω δὴ κεφάλαιον, πάντας εἰσφέρειν ἀφ' ὅσων ἕκαστος 31
 ἔχει, τὸ ἴσον πάντας ἐξιέναι κατὰ μέρος, ἕως ἂν
 ἅπαντες στρατεύσησθε· πᾶσι τοῖς παριοῦσι
 λόγον διδόναι, καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα ὧν ἂν *Money and*
 ἀκούσητε αἰρεῖσθαι, μὴ ἂν ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ *personal ser-*
 δεῖνα εἴπη. κἂν ταῦτα ποιήτε, οὐ τὸν *vice are ab-*
 εἰπόντα μόνον παραχρῆμα ἐπαινέσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς *solutely neces-*
 αὐτοὺς ὕστερον, βέλτιον τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων ὑμῖν *sary.*
 ἐχόντων.

¹ ἔξεσται Ζ.

THIRD OLYNTHIAC.

28 ΟΥΧΙ ταῦτὰ παρίσταται μοι γινώσκειν, ὦ ἄνδρες

*The question is
not now of pun-
ishing Philip,
but of aiding
our allies.*

Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀπο-
βλέψω καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὖς
ἀκούω τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ
τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον ὀρῶ γιγνομένους,

τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα ὥστε ὅπως μὴ
πεισόμεθα αὐτοὶ πρότερον κακῶς σκέψασθαι δέον.

οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἢ
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, περὶ ἧς βουλευέσθε, οὐχὶ τὴν οὔσαν

2 παριστάντες ὑμῖν ἀμαρτάνειν. ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι μὲν ποτ'

ἔξῃν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ

Φίλιππον τιμωρήσασθαι, καὶ μάλα ἀκριβῶς οἶδα· ἐπ'

ἐμοῦ γάρ, οὐχὶ¹ πάλαι γέγονε ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρω· νῦν

μέντοι πέπεισμαι τοῦθ' ἰκανὸν προλαβεῖν ἡμῖν εἶναι

29 | τὴν πρώτην, ὅπως τοὺς συμμάχους σώσομεν. ἔαν γὰρ

τοῦτο βεβαίως ὑπάρξῃ, τότε καὶ περὶ τοῦ τίνα τρόπον

τιμωρήσεται τις ἐκείνον ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν·² πρὶν δὲ τὴν

¹ οὐ D. ² τίνα τιμωρήσεται τις καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν D.

ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς ὑποθέσθαι, μάταιον ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ὄντινούν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρὸς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴπερ ποτέ, πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς δεῖται· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ τῶν παρ-

The present crisis is most difficult.

όντων συμβουλευσαι χαλεπώτατον ἡγοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἀπορῶ, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν. πέπεισμαι γὰρ ἐξ ὧν παρὼν καὶ ἀκούων σύνοιδα, τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐκπεφευγέναι τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἢ τῷ μὴ συνιέναι. ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἂν μετὰ παρρησίας ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους, ὑπομένειν, τοῦτο θεωροῦντας εἰ τάληθῆ λέγω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα τὰ λοιπὰ βελτίω γένηται· ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν ἐνίους εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα.

Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ὑπολαμβάνω μικρὰ τῶν γεγενημένων πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι. μέμνησθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτ' ἀπηγγέλθη Φίλιππος ὑμῖν ἐν Θράκῃ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τουτὶ Ἑρραῖον τεῖχος πολιορκῶν. τότε τοῖνυν μὴν μὲν ἦν μαιμακτηριῶν, πολλῶν δὲ λόγων καὶ θορύβου γιγνομένου παρ' ὑμῖν ἐψηφίσασθε τετταράκοντα τριῆρεις καθέλκειν καὶ τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτων αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν καὶ τάλαντα ἐξήκοντα εἰσφέρειν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διελθόντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου ἑκα-

You neglected opportunities in the past.

¹ οὐ D. B¹.

τομβαίων μεταγεινιῶν βοηδρομιῶν· τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς μόγις¹ μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια δέκα ναῦς ἀπεστείλατε
 30 | ἔχοντα κενὰς Χαρίδημον καὶ πέντε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου.
 ὡς γὰρ ἠγγέλθη Φίλιππος ἀσθενῶν ἢ τεθνεῶς (ἦλθε γὰρ ἀμφότερα), οὐκέτι καιρὸν οὐδένα τοῦ βοηθεῖν νομίσαντες ἀφείτε² ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν ἀπόστολον. ἦν δ' οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς αὐτός· εἰ γὰρ τότε ἐκείσε ἐβοηθήσαμεν, ὥσπερ ἐψηφισάμεθα, προθύμως, οὐκ ἂν ἠνώχλει νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ Φίλιππος σωθεῖς.

6 | Τὰ μὲν δὴ τότεπραχθέντα οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔχοι·
You have all the more reason not to neglect the present. νῦν δ' ἐτέρου πολέμου καιρὸς ἤκει τις, δι' ὃν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐμνήσθη, ἵνα μὴ ταῦτὰ πάθητε. τί δὴ χρῆσόμεθα ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τούτῳ; εἰ γὰρ μὴ βοηθήσετε παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, θεάσασθε ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἐστρατηγηκότες πάντα ἔσεσθε ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. ὑπῆρχον Ὀλύμπιοι δυνάμιν τινα κεκτημένοι, καὶ διέκειθ' οὕτω τὰ πράγματα· οὔτε Φίλιππος ἐθάρρει τούτους οὔθ' οὔτοι Φίλιππον. ἐπράξαμεν ἡμεῖς κάκεινοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην· ἦν τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐμπόδισμά τι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ δυσχερές, πόλιν μεγάλην ἐφορμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς διηλλαγμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκπολεμῶσαι³ δεῖν ὠόμεθα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου· καὶ ὁ πάντες
 7
 8 ἐθρύλουν⁴, τοῦτο πέπρακται νυνὶ ὀπωσδήποτε. τί οὖν ὑπόλοιπον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλὴν βοηθεῖν ἔρρω-

¹ μόλις D. ² ἀφίετε Z. ³ ἐκπολεμῆσαι D. ⁴ ἐθρύλουν τέως D. B¹.

μένως καὶ προθύμως; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὀρώ· χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς περιστάσης ἂν ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνης εἰ καθυφείμεθα τι τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδὲ τὸν φόβον ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μικρὸν ὀρώ τὸν¹ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐχόντων μὲν ὡς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων ἡμῖν, ἀπειρηκότων δὲ χρήμασι Φωκέων, μηδενὸς δ' ἐμποδῶν ὄντος Φιλίππου τὰ παρόντα καταστρεψαμένῳ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπικλῖναι τὰ πράγματα. | ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις ὑμῶν εἰς τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσῃν τὰ δέοντα, ἰδεῖν ἐγύθεν βούλεται τὰ δεινά, ἐξὸν ἀκούειν ἄλλοθι γιγνόμενα, καὶ βοηθοὺς ἑαυτῷ ζητεῖν, ἐξὸν νῦν ἑτέροις αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν· ὅτι γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο περιστήσεται τὰ πράγματα ἂν τὰ παρόντα προώμεθα, σχεδὸν ἴσμεν ἅπαντες δήπου.

Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν δὴ δεῖ βοηθεῖν, εἴποι τις ἂν, πάντες 10 ἐγνώκαμεν, καὶ βοηθήσομεν· τὸ δὲ ὅπως, τοῦτο λέγε. μὴ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαυμάσητε ἂν παράδοξον εἴπω τι τοῖς πολλοῖς. νομοθέτας καθίσατε. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς νομοθέταις μὴ θῆσθε νόμον μηδένα (εἰσὶ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ὑμῖν), ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἰς τὸ παρὸν βλάπτοντας ὑμᾶς λύσατε. λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, σαφῶς οὕτωςί, 11 καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐνίοις, ὧν οἱ μὲν τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσι διανέμουσι θεωρικά, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας ἀθρόους καθιστᾶσιν, εἴτα καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βουλομένους ἀθυμοτέρους ποιοῦσιν.

¹ τὸν τῶν μ. τ. D., [τῶν] μ. τ. B¹.

Delay is not less dangerous than shameful.

The laws about the 'theorica' must be revised.

- ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταῦτα λύσητε καὶ τὴν τοῦ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν ὁδὸν παράσχητε ἀσφαλῆ, τῆνικαῦτα τὸν γράψοντα ἂ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι συμφέροι ζητεῖτε. πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα πράξαι, μὴ σκοπεῖτε τίς εἰπὼν τὰ βέλτιστα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀπολέσθαι βουλήσεται· οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσετε, ἄλλως τε καὶ τούτου μόνου περιγίγνεσθαι μέλλοντος, παθεῖν ἀδίκως τι κακὸν τὸν ταῦτ' εἰπόντα καὶ γράψαντα, μηδὲν δὲ ὠφελῆσαι τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν μᾶλλον ἔτι ἢ νῦν τὸ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν φοβερώτερον ποιῆσαι. καὶ λύειν γε ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νόμους δεῖ τούτους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀξιούν
- 13 οἷπερ καὶ τεθείκασιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι δίκαιον
 32 *This duty should devolve on those who passed the laws.* | τὴν μὲν χάριν, ἣ πᾶσαν ἔβλαψε¹ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς τότε θεῖσιν ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δ' ἀπέχθειαν, δι' ἧς ἂν ἅπαντες ἄμεινον πράξαιμεν, τῷ νῦν τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι ζημίαν γενέσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα εὐτρεπίσαι, μηδαμῶς ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μηδένα ἀξιοῦτε τηλικούτον εἶναι παρ' ὑμῖν ὥστε τοὺς νόμους τούτους παραβάντα μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, μηδ' οὕτως ἀνόητον ὥστε εἰς προὔπτον κακὸν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν.
- 14 Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γ' ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν δεῖ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ψήφισμα οὐδενὸς ἀξιόν ἐστίν, ἂν μὴ προσγένηται τὸ ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τά γε δόξαντα προθύμως ὑμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ αὐτάρκη τὰ ψηφίσματα ἦν ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζειν

¹ ἔβλαπτε D.

ἂ προσήκει πράττειν ἢ περὶ ὧν ἂν γραφῆ διαπράξασθαι, οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς πολλὰ ψηφίζόμενοι μικρά, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲν ἐπράττετε τούτων, οὔτε Φίλιππος τοσοῦτον ὑβρίκει χρόνον· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἕνεκά γε ψηφισμάτων ἐδεδώκει δίκην. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ 15
 πράττειν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὕστερον ὢν τῇ τάξει, πρότερον τῇ δυνάμει καὶ κρείττον ἐστίν. τοῦτ' οὖν δεῖ προσεῖναι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὑπάρχει· καὶ γὰρ εἶπειν τὰ δέοντα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰσὶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δυνάμενοι, καὶ γνῶναι πάντων ὑμεῖς ὀξύτατοι τὰ ῥηθέντα, καὶ πρᾶξαι δὲ δυνήσεσθε νῦν, ἔαν ὀρθῶς ποιήτε. τίνα 16
 γὰρ χρόνον ἢ τίνα καιρὸν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ παρόντος βελτίω ζητεῖτε; ἢ πότε ἂ δεῖ πράξετε, εἰ μὴ νῦν; οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν ἡμῶν προεἴληφε τὰ χωρία ἄνθρωπος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς χώρας γενήσεται, πάντων αἰσχιστα πεισόμεθα; οὐχ οὖς, εἰ πολεμήσαιεν, ἐτοιμῶς σώσειν ὑπισχνούμεθα | οὔτοι νῦν *Why do we* 33
 πολεμοῦνται; οὐκ ἐχθρός; οὐκ ἔχων τὰ *delay?*
 ἡμέτερα; οὐ βάρβαρος; οὐχ ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι τις; ἀλλὰ 17
 πρὸς θεῶν πάντα ἔασαντες καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ συγκατασκευάσαντες αὐτῷ τότε τοὺς αἰτίους, οἵτινές εἰσι, τούτων ζητήσομεν; οὐ γὰρ αὐτοί γ' αἴτιοι φήσομεν εἶναι, σαφῶς οἶδα τοῦτ' ἐγώ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις τῶν φυγόντων οὐδεὶς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν πλησίων καὶ πάντων μᾶλλον, ἠττηνται δ' ὁμως διὰ πάντας τοὺς φυγόντας δήπου·

μένειν γὰρ ἐξῆν τῷ κατηγοροῦντι τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ δὲ
 18 τοῦτ' ἐποίει ἕκαστος, ἐνίκων ἄν. καὶ νῦν οὐ λέγει τις
 τὰ βέλτιστα; ἀναστὰς ἄλλος εἰπάτω, μὴ τοῦτον
 αἰτιάσθω. ἕτερος λέγει τις βελτίω; ταῦτα ποιεῖτε
Recrimi- ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡδέα ταῦτα;
nations and οὐκέτι τοῦθ' ὁ λέγων ἀδικεῖ, πλὴν εἰ δέον
wishes are usefess. εὔξασθαι παραλείπει, εὔξασθαι μὲν γὰρ¹ ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ῥάδιον, εἰς ταῦτ' ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεται
 τις ἀθροίσαντα² ἐν ὀλίγῳ· ἐλέσθαι δέ, ὅταν περὶ πραγ-
 μάτων προτεθῆ σκοπεῖν, οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως εὔπορον, ἀλλὰ
 δεῖ τὰ βέλτιστα ἀντὶ τῶν ἡδέων, ἂν μὴ συναμφότερα
 19 ἐξῆ, λαμβάνειν. εἰ δέ τις ἡμῖν ἔχει καὶ τὰ θεωρικὰ
 ἔαν καὶ πόρους ἐτέρους λέγειν στρατιωτικούς, οὐχ
 οὗτος κρείττων; εἴποι τις ἄν. φήμ' ἔγωγε, εἴπερ ἔστιν,
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω εἴ τῷ ποτε
 ἀνθρώπων ἢ γέγονεν ἢ γενήσεται, ἂν τὰ παρόντα
 ἀναλώσῃ πρὸς ἅ μὴ δεῖ, τῶν ἀπόντων εὔπορῆσαι πρὸς
 ἅ δεῖ. ἀλλ' οἶμαι, μέγα τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑπάρχει λόγοις
 ἢ παρ' ἐκάστου βούλησις, διόπερ ῥᾶστον ἀπάντων
 34 ἔστιν αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῆσαι· ὃ γὰρ | βούλεται, τοῦθ'
 ἕκαστος καὶ οἶεται, τὰ δὲ πράγματα πολλάκις οὐχ
 20 οὕτω πέφυκεν. ὁρᾶτε οὖν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦθ'
 οὕτως, ὅπως καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδέχεται καὶ δυνήσεσθε
 ἐξιέναι καὶ μισθὸν ἔξετε. οὗ τοι σωφρόνων οὐδὲ
 γενναίων ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων, ἐλλείποντάς τι δι' ἔνδειαν

¹ γὰρ om. Z.² ἀθροίσαντα D. Z.

χρημάτων τῶν τοῦ πολέμου εὐχερῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα
 ὄνειδη φέρειν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μὲν Κορινθίους καὶ
 Μεγαρέας ἀρπάσαντας τὰ ὄπλα πο- *Failure for
want of
means is
disgraceful.*
 ρεύεσθαι, Φίλιππον δ' ἔαν πόλεις Ἑλ-
 ληνίδας ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δι' ἀπορίαν ἐφοδίων τοῖς
 στρατευομένοις.

Καὶ ταῦτ' οὐχ ἴν' ἀπέχθωμαί τισιν ὑμῶν, τὴν ἄλλως 21
 προήρημαι λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἀφρων οὐδ' ἀτυχῆς
 εἰμι ἐγὼ ὥστε ἀπεχθάνεσθαι βούλεσθαι μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν
 νομίζων· ἀλλὰ δικαίου πολίτου κρίνω τὴν τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων σωτηρίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν χάριτος αἰ-
 ρεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν λέγοντας
 ἀκούω, ὥσπερ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὓς ἐπαινοῦσι *The states-
man's duty
is not to
please,*
 μὲν οἱ παριόντες ἅπαντες μιμοῦνται δ' οὐ
 πάνυ, τούτῳ τῷ ἔθει καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς
 πολιτείας χρῆσθαι, τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐκείνον, τὸν Νικίαν,
 τὸν ὀμώνυμον ἐμαυτῷ, τὸν Περικλέα. ἐξ οὗ δ' οἱ διερω- 22
 τῶντες ὑμᾶς οὗτοι πεφῆνασι ῥήτορες· τί βούλεσθε; τί
 γράψω; τί ὑμῖν χαρίσωμαι;· προπέποται τῆς παραυτίκα
 χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα καὶ τοιαυτὶ συμβαίνει,
 καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων πάντα καλῶς ἔχει, τὰ
 δ' ὑμέτερα αἰσχυρῶς. καίτοι σκέψασθε, ὦ *but to give
the best* 23
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ τις ἂν κεφάλαια εἰπεῖν
 ἔχοι τῶν τ' ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ὑμῶν.
 ἔσται δὲ βραχὺς καὶ γνώριμος ὑμῖν | ὁ λόγος· οὐ γὰρ 35
 ἀλλοτρίοις ὑμῖν χρωμένοις παραδείγμασιν ἀλλ' οἰκείοις,

- 24 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εὐδαίμοσιν ἔξεστι γενέσθαι. ἐκείνοι τοίνυν, οἷς οὐκ ἐχαρίζονθ' οἱ λέγοντες οὐδ' ἐφίλουν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς οὗτοι νῦν, πέντε μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἤρξαν ἐκόντων, πλείω δ' ἢ μύρια τάλαντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγον, ὑπήκουε δὲ ὁ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔχων αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς ὥσπερ ἐστὶ προσῆκόν βάρβαρον Ἑλλησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καλὰ καὶ περὶ καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες ἔστησαν τρόπαια αὐτοῖς στρατευόμενοι, μόνοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων κρείττω τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
- 25 ἔργοις δόξαν τῶν φθονούντων κατέλιπον. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν θεάσασθε ὅποιοι, ἐν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις. δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοίνυν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ κάλλη τοιαῦτα καὶ τσαῦτα κατεσκεύασαν ἡμῖν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἀναθημάτων ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι· ἰδίᾳ δ' οὕτω σώφρονες ἦσαν καὶ σφόδρα ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἡθει μένοντες
- 26 ὥστε τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ τὴν Μιλτιάδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν εἴ τις ἄρα οἶδεν ὑμῶν ὅποια ποτ' ἐστίν, ὄρα τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὔσαν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς περιουσίαν ἐπράττετο αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὖξιν ἕκαστος ᾤετο δεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πιστῶς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς τὰ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἴσως διοικεῖν μεγάλην εἰκότως ἐκ-
- 27 τήσαντο εὐδαιμονίαν. τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον,

Look at the conduct of the statesmen of old—and its results,

εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνοις, χρωμένοις οἷς εἶπον προ-
 στάταις· νυνὶ δὲ πῶς ὑμῖν¹ ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν
 τὰ πράγματα | ἔχει; ἀρά γε ὁμοίως καὶ 36
 παραπλησίως; οἷς² τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, *and compare*
 πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν· ἀλλ' ὅσης ἅπαντες *it with the*
 ὁρᾶτε ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν *present.*
 ἀπολωλότων, Θηβαίων δ' ἀσχόλων ὄντων, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
 οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἀξιόχρεω περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἡμῖν ἀντι-
 τάξασθαι, ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς
 ἔχειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δίκαια βραβεύειν, ἀπεστερή- 28
 μεθα μὲν χώρας οἰκείας, πλείω δ' ἢ χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια
 τάλαντα ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον, οὓς δ' ἐν τῷ
 πολέμῳ συμμαχοὺς ἐκτησάμεθα, εἰρήνης οὕσης ἀπο-
 λωλέκασιν οὗτοι, ἐχθρὸν δ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τηλικούτον
 ἤσκηκαμεν. ἢ φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ παρελθῶν, πόθεν
 ἄλλοθεν ἰσχυρὸς γέγονεν ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν Φίλιππος.
 ἀλλ' ὧ τᾶν, εἰ ταῦτα φαύλως, τά γ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει 29
 νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχει. καὶ τί ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι; τὰς
 ἐπάλξεις ἅς κονιῶμεν, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἅς ἐπισκευάζομεν,
 καὶ κρήνας, καὶ λήρους; ἀποβλέψατε δὴ πρὸς τοὺς
 ταῦτα πολιτευομένους, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι
 γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀδόξων ἔντιμοι, ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς ἰδίας
 οἰκίας τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας εἰσὶ
 κατεσκευασμένοι, ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐλάττω γέγονε,
 τοσούτῳ τὰ τούτων ἠϋξῆται.

¹ ἡμῖν D. Z.² οἷς om. Z.³ δ' om. D., [δ'] B¹.

- 30 Τί δὴ τὸ πάντων αἴτιον τούτων, καὶ τί δὴ ποτε
 ἅπαντ' εἶχε καλῶς τότε καὶ νῦν οὐκ ὀρθῶς; ὅτι τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον¹ καὶ στρατεύεσθαι τολμῶν αὐτὸς ὁ
The Athenian δῆμος δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευομένων ἦν καὶ
people are now κύριος αὐτὸς ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ
enslaved. ἀγαπητὸν ἦν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστῳ καὶ
 37 τιμῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς μεταλαβεῖν· | νῦν δὲ
 31 τούναντίον κύριοι μὲν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ
 διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται, ὑμεῖς δ' ὁ δῆμος ἐκνευ-
 ρισμένοι καὶ περιηρημένοι χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους ἐν
 ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει γεγένησθε, ἀγαπῶντες
 ἐὰν μεταδιδῶσι θεωρικῶν ὑμῖν ἢ βοηδρόμια πέμψωσιν
 οὔτοι, καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀνδριότατον, τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν
 χάριν προσοφείλετε. οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καθείρ-
 ξαντες ὑμᾶς ἐπάγουσιν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ τιθασεύουσι
 32 χειροθήβεις αὐτοῖς ποιοῦντες. ἔστι δ' οὐδέποτ', οἶμαι,
 μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα
 πράττοντας· ὅποι' ἄττα γὰρ ἂν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων ἦ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἔχειν.
 ταῦτα μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι εἰ μείζων
 εἰπόντι ἐμοὶ γένοιτο παρ' ὑμῶν βλάβη τῶν πεποιηκότων
 αὐτὰ γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ παρρησία περὶ πάντων αἰεὶ παρ'
 ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ὅτι καὶ νῦν γέγονε θαυμάζω.
 33 Ἐὰν οὖν ἀλλὰ νῦν γ' ἔτι ἀπαλλαγέντες τούτων τῶν
 ἐθῶν ἐθελήσητε στρατεύεσθαί τε καὶ πράττειν ἀξίως

¹ πρότερον D.

ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῖς περιουσίαις ταῖς οἴκοι ταύταις
 ἀφορμαῖς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν ἀγαθῶν χρῆσησθε, ἴσως
 ἄν, ἴσως ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τέλειόν τι
 καὶ μέγα κτήσασθε ἀγαθόν, καὶ τῶν *It is not too
late, even
now,*
 τοιούτων λημμάτων ἀπαλλαγείητε ἂ τοῖς
 ἀσθενοῦσι παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν σιτίοις διδομένοις ἕοικεν.
 καὶ γὰρ οὐτ' ἰσχὺν ἐκεῖνα¹ ἐντίθησιν οὐτ' ἀποθνήσκειν
 ἔῃ· καὶ ταῦτα, ἃ νέμεσθε νῦν ὑμεῖς, οὔτε τοσαυτά
 ἔστιν ὥστε ὠφέλειαν ἔχειν τινὰ διαρκῆ, οὐτ' ἀπογνόντας
 ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἔῃ, ἀλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα τὴν ἐκάστου
 βραθυμίαν | ὑμῶν ἐπαυξάνοντα. οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν 38
 λέγεις; φήσει τις. καὶ παραχρημά γε τὴν αὐτὴν 34
 σύνταξιν ἀπάντων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα *if we re-
arrange the
distribution of
public money.*
 τῶν κοινῶν ἕκαστος τὸ μέρος λαμβάνων,
 οὗτου δέοιτο ἢ πόλις, τοῦθ' ὑπάρχουσι. ἔξεστιν
 ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν; οἴκοι μένων² βελτίων, τοῦ δι' ἔνδειαν
 ἀνάγκη τι ποιεῖν αἰσχροῦν ἀπηλλαγμένος. συμβαίνει
 τι τοιοῦτον οἶον καὶ τὰ νῦν; στρατιώτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων
 ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων λημμάτων, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἔστι τις ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ὑμῶν;
 ὅσα οὗτος ἀτάκτως νῦν λαμβάνων οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, ταῦτ'
 ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει λαμβανέτω³ πάντ' ἐφορῶν καὶ διοικῶν 35
 ἂ χρὴ πράττεσθαι. ὅλως δὲ οὐτ' ἀφελῶν οὔτε προσθείς,
 πλην μικρὸν τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελὼν εἰς τάξιν ἤγαγον
 τὴν πόλιν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ λαβεῖν, τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι,

¹ ἐκεῖνα οὐτ' ἰσχὺν D. ² μένων εἰ D. B¹. ³ λαμβάνων Z.

τοῦ δικάζειν, τοῦ ποιεῖν τοῦθ' ὅ τι καθ' ἡλικίαν ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ ὄτου καιροῦ εἶη, τάξιν ποιήσας. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου μηδὲν ποιοῦσιν ἐγὼ¹ τὰ τῶν ποιησόντων εἶπον ὡς δεῖ νέμειν, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀργεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν καὶ ἀπορεῖν, ὅτι δὲ οἱ τοῦ δεῖνος νικῶσι ξένοι, ταῦτα
 36 πυνθάνεσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ νυνὶ γίγνεται. καὶ οὐχὶ μέμφομαι τὸν ποιούντά τι τῶν δεόντων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ἑτέρους τιμᾶτε, καὶ μὴ παραχωρεῖν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς τάξεως ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς ἀρετῆς μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν κινδύνων κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον.

Σχεδὸν εἶρηκα ἂν νομίζω συμφέρειν· ὑμεῖς δ' ἔλοισθε ὅ τι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἅπασι συνοίσειν ὑμῖν μέλλει.

¹ ἐγὼ ποιοῦσι D.

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DEMOSTHENES

ORATIONS AGAINST PHILIP

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES

BY

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AND

P. E. MATHESON, M.A.

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OXFORD

NOTES.

PHILIPPIC I.

351 B.C.

ANALYSIS.

i. *Prologue.*

This is no new matter now before us, Athenians; and therefore § 1. you be pardoned for rising first. Older and more experienced persons had opportunities of speaking in previous meetings, and the result shown that the advice they have given is useless.

ii. *Preparation.*

Your position is not a matter for despondency, for the chief cause of §§ 2-12. your misfortunes is the best hope of future success. Had we already exerted ourselves to the utmost, we could never do more than we are able to. Remember what the power of the Lacedaemonians was when they assailed it in the interests of Hellas; and you will then feel that nothing need alarm you, when watchful; and if an outburst like that of Philip's part fills you with apprehension it is due to your own negligence.

Whoever may one thinks that Philip's power and possessions make him a dangerous enemy, he is certainly right; but caution must not cause you to be timid. Philip was not deterred from his successes by the weight of our power and our possessions. He regarded these possessions as the prize of war, and knew that those who are present possess the goods of the absent, and those who will toil the goods of those who will not. This is the secret of his success. Everyone is ready to become the ally of one who is prepared and willing to do what is required. In the same way if you were to cast aside these dilatory habits, and do your duty, each in his several capacity, you would recover what you have lost by your negligence, and punish Philip. He is not a god; his power is not fixed and immutable; he has his enemies who lie in wait for a favourable opportunity, but are paralyzed by your negligence. This must now be cast aside; Philip now no longer gives you the choice of rest or activity; he uses threats, he is never content with his

acquisitions, but desires more, and throws out his nets on every side. What then do you wait for? When, if not now, will be the time for action? Are you waiting for compulsion? Is not shame the strongest compulsion for the free? Why ask 'What is the news?' when a Macedonian is defeating Athenians and arranging the affairs of Hellas? Is not that the last and latest intelligence? What matters it whether Philip is dead?—your conduct will soon create a second Philip. It is by our negligence, not by his own strength, that he has become what he is. Even if he died and fortune favoured you, you are in no position to avail yourselves of the favour.

iii. *Demosthenes' Proposals.*

§ 13-15. I will assume that all are agreed that a change of this kind must take place, and I shall attempt to lay before you details of the plan we ought to adopt. If I speak of new modes of preparation, do not suppose that I wish for delay. I neither seek it nor oppose it. 'At once, to-day,' are not always seasonable words. They cannot retrieve the past. What we want is a power which can remain in arms till the war is brought to an end.

§ 16-21. Prepare 50 triremes, and be ready, if need be, to go on board yourselves. Then furnish transports and boats for half our cavalry. These will be a check on the sudden expeditions of Philip to Pylae, Chersonesus, and Olynthus. He will see that you have roused yourselves from your negligence; and even if you do not actually set sail, you will force him to stay at home from fear, or you will be able to attack his country when undefended. In addition to this, we ought to have a force able to carry on the war continuously. I do not mean a great force like those which are so easily got together on paper, but a force which shall be our own, and obey our general. This force must be properly fed and supported. As to the composition of the force and other details, the whole number of soldiers should be 2000, and 500 of these Athenians, serving for a brief period in rotation—the rest may be mercenaries. There must be 200 horse, and 50 of these Athenians, serving in rotation like the foot—and transports for these. There should also be ten triremes to keep Philip's fleet in check. This force, small as it is, will, I think, be sufficient.

§ 22-27. The force must not be greater than this, for we have not the means to support it; and part of it must be formed by citizens. When mercenaries and citizens have fought side by side, they have been vic-

torious, but mercenaries without citizens only win victories over our own friends and allies. Or they abandon the war in which the city is engaged, and go away to Artabazus, for their general cannot control them without pay. But if we pay regularly, and part of the force is composed of citizens, we shall be able to control the movements of the army. Our present course is ridiculous. We are at war, but the officers we elect, with one exception, are busied with processions and similar matters at home. We even employ foreigners in their place, like Menelaus, to whom the affairs of the city are entrusted, while our own hipparch goes to Lemnos.

The sum required for the bare subsistence of this force is 90 talents §§ 28, 29. and a little more: 40 talents for 10 ships, and 40 for 2000 soldiers at the rate of 10 drachmae a month for each soldier, and for the 200 horse 12 talents, allowing 30 drachmae a month to each man. It is not necessary to provide anything beyond a bare subsistence; the rest the army will provide for itself without doing injury to any Hellene or ally. And now I will read to you a schedule of the mode in which this money can be provided.

This is my proposal; but whatever is decided on let us carry it out § 30. in action.

iv. Explanation and Justification of the Proposals.

A standing force is necessary as you will see even more if you §§ 31, 32. consider the situation of Philip's country, and the nature of the navigation. Philip avails himself of the contrary winds and achieves his successes when you cannot reach him. Expeditions are therefore of no use, for they are always too late. We can use Lemnos and other islands as a winter station, and in the summer we shall be secure off the coast and harbours of Macedonia.

The immediate application of the force will be in the hands §§ 33-37. of the general in command. But if you provide the force and restrict it by law to this war, if you provide means and demand reports, there will be an end to these ceaseless and ineffectual deliberations. You will also prevent Philip from making a source of income out of your allies, and doing injuries to you; there will be an end of these attacks on Lemnos and Imbros, of the seizure of merchantmen, and the mission-ship. These outrages you have been unable to prevent, because you have never been in time with your assistance. Yet in your festivals there is none of this backwardness. What is the reason of this contrast?

More money is required for the festivals than for war; and the number of those who take a part in them is greater than the number of your soldiers. But in the festivals everything is done by law; it is known long beforehand who is responsible for each part of the performance. This is not the case in the arrangements for war. We hear a piece of news, and begin fixing on our trierarchs, arranging and rearranging till the opportunity is over and what we wished to save is lost. Opportunities will not wait for our indecision, and our ordinary force is of no use in a case of emergency. Hence Philip is emboldened to write such letters as this.

The Letter.

§§ 38-46. A great deal that is said in this letter is true; more true than pleasant to hear. But we must not pass a thing over in silence because it is unpleasant; such self-deception is disgraceful. We must learn that those who would go to war in a right spirit must not be in the rear of events, but lead them; for statesmen should lead events as generals lead armies. You have a power greater than any other city, Athenians; yet you have never used any part of it at the right moment. Your manner of making war with Philip is like the boxing of barbarians. As he follows the blows inflicted, so you follow Philip from place to place, but you foresee and prevent nothing. This conduct must come to an end now. This restlessness would seem divinely implanted in Philip to prevent you from submitting to some shameful reproach of cowardice, and to rouse you to action. We went to war to punish Philip; we shall fight in the end to prevent ourselves from suffering some great harm at Philip's hands. He will not stop if no one interferes; will you do nothing then but send empty triremes and idle hopes? Shall we not go on board and march out with some part of our soldiers? Shall we not sail against his country? War will find out his weak points, but if we remain at home, nothing will come of it. Whenever a part of our forces has taken the field heaven's blessing has been upon them; but nothing has ever been achieved by foolish hopes and idle decrees; such expeditions are the laughter of our enemies, and the terror of our allies. What can you expect when the general is in command of miserable ill-paid mercenaries, when the orators here give false accounts of his actions and you vote for whatever comes first?

§§ 47-50. To prevent this you must yourselves be witnesses of the actions of the generals and judges of their conduct. Now each of the generals

is put on trial for his life twice or thrice, and yet not one will contend with the enemy. They would rather die the death of kidnappers and cutpurses than fall like soldiers. Meanwhile we have all kinds of reports about Philip and his extravagant purposes, as though Philip were likely to entrust his designs to the foolish men who talk about them. One thing is certain; he is our enemy and has deceived us; and the future is in our hands. If we do not fight with Philip in Macedonia, we shall have to fight with him here.

v. *Conclusion.*

I have chosen to speak openly: I wish it were certain that such § 51. openness is as good for me who speak as it is for you who hear. Still whatever the consequences to myself, I have spoken what I believe to be for your advantage.

προϋτίθετο. προύκειτο cod. Harl. Imperfect because the discussion § 1. of the subject is just beginning (*καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστάς*).

ἐπισηχῶν ἄν is the main apodosis, which is then split up into two alternative consequences, *ἡσυχίαν ἄν ἦγον* and *αὐτὸς ἄν ἐπειρώμην*. For *ἔως* with ind. aor. after a clause with *ἄν* cf. Plat. Gorg. 506 B *ἡδέως ἄν τούτῳ ἔτι διελεγόμην ἕως αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἀπέδωκα ῥήσιν*.

Though Demosthenes was at this time thirty-three years old, if born in 384, he was not in the habit of speaking on public questions. His previous public orations are those on the Symmories, for Megalopolis, and on the freedom of the Rhodians. He had also spoken the orations against Androtion, Leptines, Timocrates, and Aristocrates. He here assumes an independent position, and criticises the opposite party (Eubulus, etc.), who allowed the war with Philip (since 357 B.C. on account of Amphipolis) to linger on without vigorous measures of any kind.

περὶ ὧν. There is a doubt whether *ὑπὲρ* or *περὶ* should be read. Either is permissible, as Sauppe has shown: cp. Ol. 2. 3 *ὅς ἄν εἴποι τις ὑπὲρ τούτων*, De Cor. 17 *ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης κατεψεύσατό μου*, ib. 76 *οὐδὲν αἰτιάται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου*, Meid. 24 *τοὺς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγους ἀναγκαιοτάτους προειπεῖν ἠγοῦμαι*, infra 43.

ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου. For this use of *ἐκ* cf. De Cor. 26 *ὁ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστ' ἐπραγματεύετο*, Lept. 141 *εἶτα μεγίστας δίδοτ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου δωρεάς*. It may be explained in one of two ways: (1) From the beginning of the past is = during the past, or (2) 'On the side of, looking towards, the past.' Cf. *τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης τεῖχος* (Thuc. I. 64), and the next § in which it is opposed to *πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα*.

τὰ δέοντα . . . συνεβούλευσαν closely corresponds to *εἶδει βουλευέσθαι*.

§ 2. οὐδέ repeats and emphasises the negative. Cf. F. L. 30 οὐ γὰρ εἰ φαύλοις χρῆσθ' ὑμεῖς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ πολλάκις ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἐστὶ φαῦλα ἢν ἡ πόλις ἀξιοῦται παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, where Shilleto quotes from Schaefer Eur. Phoen. 1640 οὐκ ἂν προδοίην, οὐδέπερ πρᾶσσαν καλῶς.

ὁ γὰρ ἐστὶ χεῖριστον . . . τοῦτο βέλτιστον, emphatic order, the relative clause being placed first.

αὐτῶν, partitive genitive.

ὑπάρχει, cf. 4 ὑπαρχούσης, 'the best you have to rely upon,' of resources ready to hand, which can be counted upon; cf. 4 etc. Xen. Anab. I. I Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ.

ποιούντων . . . πραττόντων. Note that the main idea is expressed in the participle, not in the finite verb; cf. De Cor. 27 ἴν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρακῶν . . . ταῦτα τὰ χωρία . . . οὕτω γίγνοιθ' οἱ ὄρκοι, 'that the Thracians might be in possession when the oaths were taken,' where οὕτω emphasises the idea expressed in the participle. For the use of ποιεῖν and πράττειν cf. infra 5, 7.

γενέσθαι. For the aorist after ἐλπίς cf. L. and S. sub ν. ἐλπίζω and ἐλπίς. ἄν must go with ἦν.

§ 3 καὶ παρ' ἄλλων, etc. Cf. Thuc. I. 42 ἂν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ νεώτερός τις παρὰ πρεσβυτέρον αὐτὰ μαθῶν.

ἡλικὴν . . . ὡς καλῶς, for the accumulation cf. infra 36 πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν; The reference is to the so-called Corinthian war 394-387 B.C., in which the Athenian generals, Chabrias and Iphicrates, distinguished themselves.

προσηκόντως. For Athenian traditions cf. De Cor. 202 foll. ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἦθεσιν, etc.

οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ἐπράξατε, 'you acquitted yourselves most worthily of.' For the negative form of the expression cf. οὐ καλόν, 'dishonourable;' οὐκ ἴσα, 'much greater,' etc.; οὐκ ἐπαινῶ, 'I am displeased with.'

ἴν' εἰδῆτε . . . καὶ θεάσησθε. Demosthenes is fond of 'double-barrelled' phrases. Cf. De Cor. 10 ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, 31 πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι, etc.

φυλαττομένοις . . . ἂν ὀλιγωρήτε. For the variation of the construction cf. De Cor. 313 οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν . . . ἀλλὰ φυλάττων, etc.

οἷον ἂν βούλοισθε. Conditional, 'such as you would wish,' if you had your choice.

ἐχρῆν, imperfect, 'when the occasion arose in the past.'

§ 4. εἰ δέ τις, etc. For the form of the sentence cf. Ol. 2. 22.

τῆς ὑπαρχούσης δυν., the force at his disposal: cf. supra 2.

τὰ χωρία πάντα, the places enumerated below.

ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, lost to, not by, the city.

μέντοι after μέν, cf. Ol. 3. 2. So supra 3 ἐπειτα is used after πρῶτον μέν.

οἰκείον with εἶχομεν. κύκλῳ with πάντα. τοῦτον = with which we are now concerned. As to the fact, about 364 B. C. Timotheus took Potidaea, and Athenian κληρούχοι were sent there. He also took Torone, and joined Pydna and Methone to the Athenian alliance.

Pydna was taken by Philip in the autumn of 357; Potidaea in the spring of 356. The latter city was an ally of Athens, which Philip sacrificed to the Olynthians. Methone was taken in the autumn of 353.

ἔθνῶν, Illyrians, Paeonians, etc.: cf. Ol. 1. 23 ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν γε Πάιονα καὶ τὸν Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ ἀπλῶς τούτους ἀπαντας ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ αὐτονόμους ἢ διον ἢ καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἢ δούλους εἶναι. These were finally crushed in 355 B. C.

ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, 'had formed the opinion.'

§ 5.

ἐπιτεχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας, posts in or commanding his country; cf. Arn. on Thuc. 1. 142. The simple genitive of the object has the same force as the genitive with κατὰ in De Cor. 87 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φ. ἐξηλάθη . . . ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτεχισμὸν ἐζήτει.

αὐτοῦ refers to a subject to be supplied to ἔρημον ὄντα. For subject omitted with participle cf. Ep. Phil. 10 εἰ δεῖ πάντα τὰλλα παραλιπόντα συντόμως εἰπεῖν.

πεποίηκεν, ἔπραξεν. Cf. supra 2, 'achieved,' 'set about.'

εἶδεν. Cobet conj. ᾗδεν. But the construction is quite legitimate, and the sense requires an aorist tense, just as we have ἔσχεν above, and χρῆσάμενος below.

ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, metaphor from the palaestra.

καὶ γὰρ τοι, etc. 'For in truth this was the view on which he § 6. acted.' Cf. Chers. 66.

ὡς ἄν, etc. Often used without the verb being expressed; = ὡς ἄν ἔχοι, εἴ τις ἔλων ἔχοι. De Cor. 291 οὐχ ὡς ἄν εὐνοῦς πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην.

ἐπί: cf. Mid. 213 τηρήσατε τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἐφ' ἧς νῦν ἐστέ, Chers. 14 μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ νῦν.

γενέσθαι ἐπὶ, 'take your stand upon.' Cf. the expression δόξης ἐπιβῆναι in Soph. Phil. 1463.

εἰρωνεῖαν. Ar. Eth. 2. 7. 12 περὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἀληθὲς ὁ μὲν μέσος § 7. ἀληθῆς τις, καὶ ἡ μεσότης ἀλήθεια λεγέσθω, ἡ δὲ προσποίησις ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἀλαζονεία καὶ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀλαζών, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαττον εἰρωνεία καὶ εἰρων: εἰρωνεία therefore is a feigned profession of incapacity.

εἰσφέρειν. By voluntary contributions, or, by passing a decree for an εἰσφορά or extraordinary tax on property. For the εἰσφορά and the

mode in which it was raised, see Schömann, Greek Antiquities, E. T. p. 455. *ὁ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ*, cf. *infra* 21.

συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς = 'plainly and briefly.' For this idiomatic use of the dative see Goodwin Gr. Gr. 184, 5. [It is doubtful whether *ἀπλῶς* should be retained, the more so as some MSS. have *ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν*.]

ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. Cf. Ol. 2. 30 *δεῖ δὴ ταῦτα ἐναντίας καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν γενομένους*.

ποιήσιν, 'will have to do.'

τὰ κατερραθυμημένα, 'what has been *lost* by indolence' (*κατα-*).

τιμωρήσεσθε: cf. *infra* 43, and Ol. 3. 1.

§ 8. *θάνατα*, part of the predicate.

μισεῖ τις. No particular person is meant. 'He has enemies.'

καὶ τῶν κ.τ.λ., 'even among those who.'

ὄσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν . . . κἂν τοῖς. Note that the *καί* is used with both terms of the comparison, to mark the correspondence.

πάντα ταῦτα, all these elements of danger, hatred, fear, jealousy, etc., which are personified.

ἀποστροφῆν, 'have no resort.' *ἀντὶ τοῦ καταφυγῆν*, *Ἡραπορ.*, 'no place to which they can repair and make head against him.' Cf. *Timocr.* 9 *ἐνούσης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτ' ἀποστροφῆς τοῦ μὴ τὰ χρήματα ἔχειν ὑμᾶς*.

ἤδη, 'at once:' for the position cf. Ol. 2. 26.

§ 9. *ἄνθρωπος*: cf. Ol. 1. 23, *infra* 50.

προσπεριβάλλεται: cf. De Cor. 231 *τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων περιβαλλόμενος*: the word is also used of catching fish.

περιστοιχίζεται, metaphor from hunting, used again Phil. 2. 27. This and the preceding metaphor are taken from two different kinds of net, the casting-net (*ἀμφίβληστρον*) and the stake-net.

§ 10. *ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται*; cf. Xen. Mem. 1. 4. 14 *ἀλλ' ὅταν τί ποιήσωσι νομεῖς αὐτοὺς σοῦ φροντίζειν*;

νῆ Δί', used in stating a supposed answer or objection, cf. de F. L. 158 *ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς ὄρκους ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων*. 'But it will be said, What are you waiting for? For necessity, do you say? Then what name are we to give to what is happening now?' For *νῦν* out of its place cf. *ἤδη* above, 8.

εἰπέ μοι: cf. Ar. Ach. 319 *εἰπέ μοι τί φειδόμεσθα*; and for the Athenian love of news, cf. *infra* 48, De Cor. 158, etc., etc.

αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι, 'enquire from yourselves,' etc., from each other.

γένουτο γὰρ ἂν τι καινότερον; 'why, what news could you have to equal this? Is it not news indeed?' *γάρ* is common in questions expressing astonishment.

Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίους. For the antithesis cf. De Cor. 68 *τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι . . . ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις*.

καταπολεμῶν: cf. F. L. 315 ὑμᾶς κατεπολιτεύσατο Φ. and 337 ὡς καθυποκρινόμενον ὑμᾶς, 'defeating,' 'getting the better of.' This may refer to the carrying off of the trireme from Marathon, as well as to such disasters as the loss of Potidaea and Methone. Philip may be said to have arranged the affairs of Thessaly after the defeat of Onomarchus and the Phocians.

διοικῶν: used of Athens and her empire, Isocr. Paneg. 4. 120 τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις διοικοῦμεν.

παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βῶμην, 'owing to his own strength.' For this use § 11. of παρὰ cf. De Cor. 232 παντὶ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ὀρᾶς γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθη ἐγώ.

καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, 'and yet there is this fact too:' cf. De Cor. § 12. 123.

τὰ τῆς τύχης. Soph. Phil. 497 τὰ τῶν διακόνων.

ἢ ἡμεῖς ἐπιμελούμεθα. The verb is attracted to the person of the nearer subject. Cf. Thuc. 1. 82 ὅσοι ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλεύομεθα.

τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο, sc. τὸ Φ. παθεῖν τι.

ἐπιστάντες, 'you would come upon (or get the control of) all his affairs in their confusion and manage them to suit your pleasure.' ἐπιστάναι (ἐπιστῆναι) is used in Demosth. in two senses: (1) of sudden advance or attack, cf. Phil. 2. 5 ὅπως . . . μηδ' ἐπιστῆσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως, and F. L. 323 ἐπιστῆσαι τὰ πράγματα ἀγαθόντας ἄφνω ('bring matters suddenly upon you,' Schaefer; but see Shilleto's note); (2) of putting a person in command or control. F. L. 34 τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασι.

Amphipolis was the prize which the Athenians had striven in vain to recover since it was lost in B.C. 424. At the time of his accession Philip had deluded them with the hope that he would place the city in their hands.

ἀπηρτημένοι. Schol. κεχωρισμένοι. Cf. De Cor. 59 καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβη ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, 'that I am disconnecting my argument from the indictment.' Here 'you cannot bring your minds or your preparations to bear on them.'

ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν, stronger than ἐθέλειν, 'to be willing from § 13. the first:' cf. De Cor. 95 τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδὼτας ἡγοῦμαι, 'know already,' 228 ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ λέγειν, etc.

ἴσον and οὔστινας require the repetition of ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν οἶμαι.

καὶ δὴ, 'at once:' cf. De Pace 9.

κρίνατε . . . προλαμβάνετε. Note difference of tenses; aor. of § 14. final decision, pres. of a prejudice influencing them throughout the speech.

μή, vulgo καὶ μή, but the simple opposition is often used. Cf. Chers. 57 ἵνα τούτους κρίνητε, μὴ Φίλιππον ἀμύνησθε.

πρότερον προλαμβ. For the pleonasm cf. supra 7 *πάλιν ἀναλήψεθε*. *καινὴν παρασκευὴν*, 'a new mode of preparation, which from the fact that it is hard and implies a radical change will take up time.'

ταχὺ τήμερον are the words used by the speakers urging immediate measures.

τά γε ἤδη γεγενημένα. *γε* emphasises the participle as containing the reason: 'we cannot possibly prevent what is *past*.' Cf. Megalop. 8 *δίκαιον μὲν οὐ, συγχωρῶ δ' ἔγωγ' εἶσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐναντιωθῆναι τοῖς γε τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχούσι κινδύνων* (= *quippe qui*).

§ 15. With *ὅς ἂν δέλφη* supply *εἰς δέον λέξει*.
ὅς ἂν κ.τ.λ. These words show that as yet (351 B. C.) Demosthenes had not fully recognised the serious nature of Philip's schemes.

ἐπαγγέλλεται . . . ὑπόσχεσις. See Sauppe's note, '*ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι* *ultra promittere*; *ὑποσχεῖσθαι et ultra et rogatum polliceri*;' but there is no difference here.

τὸ πράγμα, 'the contents (of the proposal) will soon allow you to decide.'

§ 16. *τριήρεις πεντήκοντα*. A small number compared with the total of the Athenian navy at the time, which Demosthenes puts at 300, *Symm.* 13.

πλευστόν, sc. *ὄν*.

αὐτοῖς. On the value of personal service see *infra* 47 ff.

τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἱππέων. Cf. *Lept.* 8 *τὸν ἡμισὺν ἐστ' ἀτελεῖς τοῦ χρόνου*. So *πολύς* is used. 'The Athenian horse numbered at the time of the Peloponnesian war 1200 men, *Thuc.* 2. 13. Demosthenes puts the number at 1000, *Symm.* § 13.

ἱππαγωγὸς τριήρ. First used in 430 B. C., *Thuc.* 2. 56.

πλοῖα. *Schol.* *τὰ φέροντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ὑπηρετικά*. Cf. *Thuc.* 6. 30, etc.

§ 17. *ἐπὶ ταύτας*, 'with a view to these well-known,' etc., 'ille.' These preparations are of course quite distinct from those mentioned *infra*, 19 ff.

εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυνθον. These expeditions took place in 352, 350 B. C. The first was connected with the Thessalian, the second with the Thracian campaign of Philip. The attack on Olynthus must have taken place immediately after Philip's sickness in Thrace.

παραστήναι. For the active in the corresponding sense cf. *De Cor.* 1 *ὅπερ ἐστὶ*, etc. . . . *τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν*.

ἐκ τῆς ἀμελ. ταύτης, 'waking up from;' cf. *De Cor.* 308 *βήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη*.

Euboea, in 358 B. C., when the island was saved from the Thebans. cf. *De Chers.* 74.

εἰς Ἀλιάρτον. In 395 B.C. Lysander fell at Haliartus before the allied Theban and Athenian forces. It was the beginning of the end for Sparta.

εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἄν. The ἄν points to an implied condition; 'even § 18. if you should fail, as may happen, to carry out this part of my proposal.' For ἄν in an εἰ clause cf. F. L. 172 ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης, εἰ προσλαβὼν γ' ἄν ἀργύριον πανὸν πολὺ μετὰ τούτων ἐπρέσβευσα, where the ἄν goes with ἐπρέσβευσα and corresponds to the condition expressed in προσλαβὼν (= εἰ προσέλαβον); see Shilleto's note. For the whole sentence, Weil supposes a parenthesis from οὔτοι, and connects ἵνα with δρμήσαιτε, 'the plan is not despicable,' i. e. is worth adopting, in order that, etc.

εἰσι γὰρ εἰσί. For the repetition cf. 46.

δεδοχθαι . . . παρεσκευασθαι. The pft. expresses the certainty of § 19. the need. Cf. De Chers. 3.

μή μοι with acc. Cf. Ar. Vesp. 1179 μή μοι γε μύθους, Ach. 345 μή μοι πρόφασιν.

ἐπιστολιμαίους. Cf. infra 30 ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμῆτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, and 45 τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας.

τῆς πόλεως, which shall be the army of Athens and not of the general who commands it. For the contrast cf. Aristocr. 198 οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἄν εἴποι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲ τὴν Μαραθῶνι μάχην Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως.

κἄν ὄντινόν. Cf. De Cor. 146 κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὀποιουσδήποτε ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς.

πέισεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει, in contrast to the present disorder, infra 24 ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ.

ξένους μὲν λέγω. He puts the mercenaries first to prepare the way. § 20. The sentence is resumed at λέγω δὴ.

ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν, 'when it comes to performance.'

τούτοις προστίθετε, 'add to them.' προστίθετε is used without any expressed object.

στρατιώτας, 'infantry' (= τοὺς πεζοὺς infra).

§ 21.

ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας. Cf. Ol. 3. 4 τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν. (See Herm. Ant. Gr. § 123, 11.) Harpocr., p. 279 στρατεία ἐν τοῖς ἐπανύμοις· χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς ἐπανύμοις καὶ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, καὶ ὅταν ἡλικίαν ἐκπέμψωσι προγράφουσι ἀπὸ τίνος ἀρχοντος ἐπανύμου μέχρι τίνος δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι. The Athenian became of age for service when 20 years old. His name was entered on a list distinguished by the name of the archon of the year. When summoned to service, the names of the archons at the heads of the lists might be mentioned, as in the quotation from Harpocration, or the

age of the soldiers summoned might be given, as in the passage of the Olynthiacs. After sixty, the Athenian was no longer liable to service.

§ 22. Philip could build ships at Amphipolis, and the mines of Pangæum supplied ample means. He had already employed his fleet on some marauding expeditions. See *infra* 49.

τοὺς στρατευομένους, Bekker. Westerman takes εἶναι = παρῆναι, 'and that citizens should be present in the army,' but inclines to accept the correction συστρατευομένους for τοὺς στρ. (Weil, after Dobree), which avoids the difficulty of the article.

§ 23. τοσαύτην, 'so large, and no larger.'

παραταξομένην. Of a regular pitched battle, cf. Lept. 76. Cf. Phil. 3. 49 οὐδὲν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον. ἐκεῖνον is of course = τῇ ἐκείνου δυνάμει by the ordinary Greek brevity of expression. For the article cf. Chers. 46 ἔτοιμον ἔχει δύναμιν τὴν ἀδικήσουσαν.

ληστεύειν. Cf. Thuc. 4. 41 οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ἐλήϊζον τὴν Λακωνικήν· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ληστείας καὶ τοιοῦτου πολέμου . . . οὐ βραδίως ἔφερον.

ξενικὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, the first instance of a considerable mercenary army in Greece. The Peloponnesian war had filled the country with soldiers of fortune; a most disastrous matter for the welfare of all. See Schol. on Aristoph. Plut. 173, where Conon is said to have established ξένοι in Corinth.

Polystratus, Lept. 84, received honours (Sauppe thinks citizenship) through the influence of Iphicrates. He seems to be mentioned nowhere else, except in the Lept. 1. c.

Iphicrates, cf. Lept. 84. He is said to have been 20 years old at the battle of Coronea, see Justin, 6, 5, 2, who gives him a high character.

Chabrias, for his exploits see Lept. 75 ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ὑμᾶς ἔχον πρὸς ἅπαντας Πελοποννησίουσ παρατάξατο ἐν Θήβαισ, etc., etc.

§ 24. τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ, cf. Chers. 24, of the blackmail levied by the generals of mercenary armies.

παρακύψαντα, 'taking a side glance at.' Cf. Aristoph. Thesm. 797, Eccles. 924, etc.

πρὸς Ἄρτ. Chares joined Artabazus in his rebellion against Artaxerxes in 355 B.C. Diod. 16. 22.

§ 25. τῶν στρατηγουμένων. Neuter. Cf. F. L. 19 τῶν πεπρεσβευμένων. γέλωσ ἔσθ'. Cf. F. L. 72 ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα γέλωσ μᾶλλον δ' ἀναισχυντία δεινή.

πολεμοῦμεν. Since 357 B.C., on the failure of the hopes about Amphipolis.

ἐχειροτονεῖτε, 'elected by show of hands.' This was usual in the § 26. case of all posts requiring special skill. The imperfect, if correct, is used with reference to the time when the election was going on, which was now past.

τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν. For the large place processions occupied in Athenian life cf. Ol. 3. 31 *ἀγαπῶντες ἐὰν μεταδιδῶσι θεωρικῶν ὑμῖν ἢ βοηδρόμα πέμπουσιν οὗτοι*.

ιεροποιῶν. They would have the charge of the festivals in most cases. In an inscription which gives the receipts arising from the skins of the victims offered at various sacrifices in 334-332 B.C. (Dittenberger, Syll. 374) the money is sometimes received from the *ιεροποιοί*, sometimes from the *strategi*, and sometimes from other officers.

εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. Every procession would pass through the *ἀγορά* (C. O. Müller), and thus the officers of the Athenian army are to be found in the market-place like the terra-cotta figures. There is also the suggestion that they are for amusement and show, rather than for use. In 320 B.C. on the motion of Demades, the *ἀγορά* in Piræus was specially cleansed and prepared for a procession to pass through it (Ditt. *l. c.* 337). We find from another inscription (Ditt. *l. c.* 381) that the *hieropoei*, *strategi*, and *taxiarchs* received their shares in the flesh distributed at sacrifices no less than the *archons*, *canephoroi*, etc.

ἀρχοντας οἰκέλους is perhaps in apposition to *ταξιάρχους ἵππάρχους*, § 27. = 'officers of your own,' and *εἶναι* then goes with *παρ' ὑμῶν*, 'the *taxiarchs* and *hipparchs*, as officers of your own, should come from among you.' Or *οἰκέλους* may be part of the predicate, and *ἀρχοντας* will then be = 'in fact, all your officers.'

ἴν' ἦν: of a purpose not realised. Cf. Timocr. 48 *ἵνα μὴ ἐδόκεισ*, Androt. 21 *ἴν' ἐκινδυνεύομεν*. The idiom is common in Lysias.

εἰς Λήμνον. It appears from Hyperides that one *hipparch*, with a corps of horse, was always stationed at Lemnos.

ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων. Perhaps with reference to some particular place, e. g. the Chersonese.

ὑφ' ὑμῶν . . . κεχειρ. implies that Menelaus was not properly elected, —perhaps he was appointed by Charidemus. M. was taken and executed at the capture of Olynthus. He was the half-brother of Philip [*ab Atheniensibus non poterat χειροτονεῖσθαι nisi esset Atheniensis M. at peregrinus et ξαναγός non fuit κεχειροτονημένος* cf. § 33 *ὁ κύριος καταστὰς ὑφ' ὑμῶν* (Schaefer)]. There is no reason to suppose that Menelaus was really *hipparch*, and in command of Athenian cavalry. He was probably at the head of a troop of mercenary horse. See § 26, where out of 200 horse, 150 are supposed not to be Athenians;

and p. 686, where Meno the Thessalian furnishes a troop of 40 mounted Penestae (Arist. 199). The employment of a single general where it was previously the custom to send out several, marks the declining interest of the Athenians in military service.

§ 28. τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων. Cf. infra 32 τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων and τὸ τῆς τύχης.

ἔστι μὲν, 'amounts to.' The amount for a year is given.

Ships, 20 min. × 12 × 10 = 40 talents.

Foot, 10 dr. × 12 × 2000 = 40 „

Horse, 30 dr. × 12 × 200 = 12 „

—
92 talents.

ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή. The μὲν is answered by εἰ δέ τις οἴεται which brings in the question of μισθός (ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελεῖν).

The usual pay of a sailor was half a drachma (Thuc. 8. 29). Tissaphernes paid a drachma, and this high rate was paid to the Athenians at Potidaea and in Sicily. (This is the μισθός.) The whole cost of hoplites at Potidaea was two drachmae a day (one drachma being allowed for a servant), Thuc. 3. 17. The Thracians in the Peloponnesian war required a drachma a day (Thuc. 7. 27). Horse soldiers received two drachmae a day.

σιτηρέσιον μόνον, i. e. rations, apart from μισθός.

Twenty minae for 30 days divided among 200 men (the usual crew of a trireme) gives two obols per diem for each man, and the same rate is kept in view in allowing ten drachmae to each soldier for thirty days. We may assume then that two obols a day was the cost of living. The ἀδύνατος who received state charity received nine drachmae (= 54 obols) a month. (See Harpocration, and Boeckh, Staatshaus. I. 342 ff.)

εἰς τὴν ναῦν. 'To each ship.'

§ 29. τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, emphasised by its position.

προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπά. Cf. Thuc. I. 11 ὅσον ἡλιπίζον αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύσειν. For the cost of war to the country in which it is waged see Ol. I. 27. It is not clear whether Demosthenes means that the Olynthians would supply the money, or whether the army would ravage the enemies' country.

πάσχειν, etc. For the expression cf. Cherson. 24 ἡ ἐγὼ πάσχειν ὀτιοῦν τιμῶμαι.

ἔτοιμος, often used without εἰμί. Cf. Phil. 3. 4. εἰ δέ, etc. . . . ἔτοιμος λέγειν.

§ 30. πύρου ἀπόδειξις. See infra 37, Phil. 2. 28, Phil. 3. 46. Written documents are often introduced in Demosthenes.

At the words ἂ μὲν οὖν Dionysius divides this speech, and begins his

5th Philippic. By so doing he has left this speech without an end, and invented another without a beginning.

ἡμεῖς. Demosthenes never uses the plural of himself alone. He would have official help in drawing up this memorandum.

ἐπιχειροτονήτε, 'sanction by vote.' L. and S. Schaefer conj. ἐπειδὴν δὲ χειροτονήσητε τὰς γνώμας, etc.

ἃ ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη, emphasis on ὑμῖν, 'what commends itself to you, and not to Eubulus and his system of finance.' Westermann adopts Sauppe's omission of ἃ, supplying as object to χειροτονήσετε 'what I have advised.' Cf. Phil. 3. 70 ἐγὼ νῆ Δι' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δὲ ὥστε ἂν βούλησθε χειροτονήσετε.

ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς. Cf. supra 19 ἐπιστολιμαίους.

Liv. 31. 44 (of a later time), 'Athenienses quidem litteris verbisque quibus solum valent bellum adversus Philippum gerebant.'

τὸν τόπον. Demosthenes insists elsewhere on the importance § 31. of geography in politics. Cf. De Cor. 146 συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι . . . αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου . . . κακοπαθεῖν. Cf. Aristocr. 182, on the position of Cardia.

τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις, explained by ἐτησίας χειμῶνα.

τοὺς ἐτησίας. N. E. winds in July and August. Cf. De Chers. 14. Neumann und Partsch, Physikalische Geog., p. 96, give 'the best account of these winds, which make navigation impossible or nearly so while they continue. Hdt. 9. 114, Thuc. 2. 85. Winter extended from September to May.

ἤνικ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα, 'when, as he thinks, we cannot sail thither.' Cf. Xen. Oecon. 11. 14 ἐγὼ ἀνίστασθαι ἐξ εὐνῆς εἰθισμαι, ἤνικ' ἂν ἐπι ἔνδον καταλαμβάνοιμι, εἴ τινα δεόμενος ἰδεῖν τυγχάνοιμι.

βοηθείαις. Cf. de Chers. 47, where the same view is insisted on. § 32. βοηθείαις, 'isolated and hasty expeditions.'

χαμαδίῳ, 'as winter-quarters,' in apposition to Λήμνῳ.

ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις. Besides the Athenian possessions (Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros) there were in alliance with Athens:—Samos and Tenedos (Aesch. 2. 20), Thasos (Halonnos. 15), Sciathos, etc. (Chers. 36), Peparethos (De Cor. 70), Prokonnesos (De Cor. 302). Schaefer, Demosthenes und seine Zeit. 2. p. 163. τὴν δ' ὥραν, cf. Phil. 3. 48.

ῥαδίως ἔσται, supply πολεμεῖν, but the passage seems incomplete.

παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν. Cf. De Cor. 15 τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα § 33. ἐλέγχους, § 13 ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ δίκηματα χρῆσθαι.

παρά, with accusative of time is used, (1) of extension, de Cor. 10, π. πάντα τὸν χρόνον, (2) of a point of time, as here.

κατακλείσητε. Andoc. 3. 7 καὶ νόμῳ κατεκλείσαμεν (χίλια τάλαντα) ἔξαιρετὰ εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ.

ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, 'to remain at the seat of war,' not to disperse for plunder or more lucrative service.

ταμίαι is the general term for those who deal with state revenues; πορισταὶ does not seem to be a technical term at all. In Thuc. 8. 48 the καλοὶ κάγαθοί are spoken of as πορισταὶ καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ.

ζητοῦντες. Cobet conjectures ἀπαιτοῦντες, which is the usual word. But cf. F. L. 109 ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους ἐξήτουν παρὰ τοῦτου, 'I was looking for,' Shilleto; and so perhaps here, not so strong as ἀπαιτ. 'Requiring from,' 'looking to the generals for the account of actions,' is good sense enough.

παύσεσθ' αἰεὶ κ.τ.λ. Rather a lame conclusion. See the opening words of the speech. No sense of the real danger, or of the true character of Philip, is as yet betrayed.

§ 34. ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμ. συμμάχων. ἀπὸ is used of the source of income. Cf. Ol. 1. 22 τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ τὰθετταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων (harbour and market dues) δέοι διοικεῖν.

οὐχ ὥσπερ, etc. For the condensed form of expression cf. Midias 218 οὐ γὰρ ἐκ πολιτικῆς αἰτίας, οὐδ' ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφῶν ἀποδοὺς τοῖς στεφάνους ἔλυσε τὴν προβολήν.

πολίτας. Lemnos and Imbros had belonged to Athens since the time of Miltiades (Hdt. 6. 137); even under the terms of the peace of Antalcidas they were considered her possessions.

ἔξελεξε. Observe the irony of the official word. Cf. De Cor. 234 προεξελεγμένα ('had been raised before due') of regular contributions of allies. The corn-ships touched at Geraestus on their way from the Hellespont to Athens.

τὴν ἱερὰν τριήρη. The Paralus, which was at the time perhaps preparing for the voyage to Delos.

εἰς τοὺς χρόνους. Cf. Chers. 18 ἄρ' ὀράτε . . . τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὄραν τοῦ ἔτους, εἰς ἣν ἔρημόν τινες οἴονται δεῖν τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ὑμῶν ποιῆσαι.

δεινοί, 'experts.'

οἱ . . . ἐπιμελούμενοι. The Panathanaea were arranged by ten ἀθλοθέται, who were chosen by lot; the Dionysia by the archon and ten ἐπιμεληταί, but the latter were not appointed by lot. Cf. Mid. 15. Hence Demosthenes refers to the ἀθλοθέται in the first instance and to the archon in the second. For the ἀθλοθέται see Dittenb. *l. c.* 44 where money is paid to them, and 101 where they are charged with providing a crown. No. 382 in the same collection is a decree of thanks to the ἄρχων and ἐπιμεληταί (ten in number but not chosen from the ten tribes) for the management of the Dionysia.

οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα. Stronger than εἰς οὐδένα. 'More than on any,' i. e. even on that on which we spend most.

ὄχλον. acc. after ἔχει.

οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ = haud scio an, *τι τῶν ἀπάντων* = anything else whatever. § 35.

Methone, 353 B.C. Cf. Ol. I. 9 and 12. Here Philip lost an eye.

Pagasaë, after the defeat of Onomarchus in 352 B.C. Ol. I. 9, 12, 22.

Potidaea, put last because the loss was most serious, or for climax of sound, 356 B.C. Ol. I. 9.

In Ol. I. 9, 12, the order is given rightly: Πύδνα, Ποτίδαια, Μεθώνη, Παγασαί.

Liturgies, see Schöm. Greek Ant. I. 462. The choregia and § 36. gymnasiarchia were the two chief liturgies besides the trierarchy.

ἀνεξέταστον with ἡμέληται, proleptic: cf. μέγας ἠυξήθη. ἐξετάζειν and its compounds are very frequent in Demosthenes.

ἄμα ἀκηκῶμέν τε καί etc., 'we wait to appoint trierarchs etc. till we have heard.' Cf. De Cor. § 32 ἵνα . . . ἄμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτα ἀπαγγελ-
λόντων ἡμῶν κἀκείνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν, 'that you might not hear till he was on this side of Pylæ.'

τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν. It would seem that the trierarchs were now appointed for the occasion, instead of for the year.

ἀντιδόσεις. Schöm. Greek Ant. I. 466. If any one chosen to be trierarch thought that a richer man had been passed over, he might offer his property in exchange to the richer man, if the latter refused the service. Cf. Demosthenes 'in Phaenippum,' which deals with a case of the kind.

τοὺς μετοίκους. Thucydides 2. 13 speaks of the Metoeci as furnishing hoplites for home service.

τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκούντας. (1) Harpocration (Lex.) explains this phrase of freedmen living apart from their old masters. Or it may mean (2) slaves living apart from their masters. Bekker. Anecd. p. 316. II.

εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀντεμβιβάζειν, 'then again to put ourselves on board.' But the best MS. reads πάλιν εἴτ' and if this is retained trans. 'then to go on board ourselves (sc. ἐμβαίνειν), and then to put others on board in our stead.' (Cf. Thuc. 7. 13 ἀνδράποδα Ἰκκαρικὰ ἀντεμβιβάσαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν πείσαντες τοὺς τριηράρχους.)

μέλλεται. Cf. Xen. Anab. 3. I. 47 ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο § 37. τὰ δέοντα, Thuc. 5. 111 ἡμῶν τὰ ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπίζόμενα μέλλεται.

τὸ ἐφ' ᾧ, etc. The article makes a substantive of the relative clause.

οἱ τῶν πραγμ. καιροί. Cf. Thuc. I. 142 τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί, Aesch. p. 3. 163 καίτοι ρητορικὴν δειλίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει.

ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν, 'when the favourable moment comes.'

εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως. Phil. Ep. 3 εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθε παρανομίας.

Letter to the Euboeans. This attempt of Philip to break the alliance of Euboea and Athens, which had subsisted since 358 B.C. succeeded in the year after this speech, 350 B.C.

- § 38. ὑπερβήσεται. (1) Sc. τις. (2) Sc. τὰ πράγματα, 'the course of events.' The second is preferable.
φενακίζεῖν ἑαυτούς, 'to hood-wink themselves.'
- § 39. δεῖ . . . οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀλλ'. This collocation, for οὐκ is to be taken with δεῖ, avoids the awkward ellipse which would arise from οὐ δεῖ; 'it is not the duty, but (it is their duty).'
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον . . . ὥσπερ. Cf. Ol. 1. 15 δέδοικα . . . μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ οἱ δανειζόμενοι . . . οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς etc.
ἃ ἂν ἐκείνους δοκῆ. Sc. τοῖς βουλευομένοις. For this use of ἐκείνους referring to the subject, cf. Phil. 3. 14 καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος ἂν εἴη . . . εἰ . . . ἐκείνος ἐκλύσας etc.
τὰ συμβάντα διώκειν. Cf. Liv. 9. 18 'reges . . . trahunt consiliiis cuncta, non sequuntur.'
- § 40. πλείστην δύναμιν ἀπάντων. Cf. Timocr. 216.
οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε. 'Nihil reliquum facitis quin.' Dobree's correction for οὐδενὸς ἀπολείπεσθε, 'you come short of none,' i.e. you surpass all in, etc. For which cf. Isocr. 12. (Panath.) § 12 τὴν δὲ φύσιν εἰδὼς πρὸς μὲν τὰς πράξεις ἀρρωστοτέραν καὶ μαλακοτέραν οὖσαν τοῦ δέοντος πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λόγους οὐ τελείαν οὐδὲ πανταχῆ χρησίμην ἀλλὰ δοξάσαι μὲν . . . εἰπεῖν δὲ . . . ἀπασῶν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπολελειμμένην.
ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι. Cf. Plat. Symp. 182 B τοῖς γὰρ βαρβάροις διὰ τὰς τυραννίδας αἰσχρὸν τοῦτό γε καὶ ἦ γε φιλοσοφία καὶ ἦ φιλογυμναστία.
ἐκεῖσ' εἰσιν expresses quickness. For the combination of the adverb 'of motion' with εἰμί cf. Hdt. 1. 21 ὁ μὲν ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν.
προβάλλεσθαι. Cf. Xen. Cyr. 2. 3. 10 καὶ ἐγὼ . . . ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἠπιστάμην πρὸ τούτων ὃ τι οἰοίμην πληγῆσθαι. F.L. § 27 ὡς προβεβλημένη καὶ ἀπιστος ἦν (ἢ προαιρ. τῆς πολιτείας) πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, 'guarded;' De Cor. 97 τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, 'putting forward as a shield.'
- § 41. ἄνω κάτω. Cf. Ol. 2. 16 κοπτόμενοι δ' αἰεὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ταῦταις ταῖς ἄνω κάτω.
στρατηγεῖσθε. Cf. Isocr. Paneg. 219 τῆς στρατίας τῆς ὑπ' Ἀθ. μὲν καὶ Λακ. στρατηγουμένης.
πρὶν ἂν . . . πύθησθε, expands πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων.
ἦκει, impersonal.
τὴν ἀκμήν. Cf. Soph. El. 22 οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτ' ὀκνεῖν καιρὸς ἀλλ' ἔργων ἀκμή.
ἐγχωρεῖ, impers., cf. Plat. Phaedo 116 E.

- τινί, neut. § 42.
 ὀρεγόμενος. Cf. Thuc. 4. 17 αἰ τοῦ πλείονος ἐλπίδι ὀρέγονται.
 τιμωρήσασθαι. Cf. 7 supra. § 43.
 εἶτα, often used in indignant questions, summing up what has gone before, 'and yet, in spite of what has happened.' Cf. Ol. 1. 24, etc.
 τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεινός ἐλπίδας. Cf. infra 45 τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας.
 τὰ σαθρά, 'the weak points.' Cf. Ol. 2. 21, and the frequent use § 44.
 of ὑγιῆς and νοσῶ.
 Sauppe quotes Tac. H. 2. 77 'aperiet et recludet contacta et tumescencia victricium partium vulnera ipsum bellum.'
 εὐμενές. Sc. ἐστί. § 45.
 τὸ τῆς τύχης. Cf. supra § 12.
 τεθνάσι τῷ δέει, with accusative. Cf. F. L. § 22 πεφοβημένον καὶ τεταραγμένον τὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν οἰκειότητα Φιλίππῳ γεγενημένην.
 81 τεθνάσαι τῷ φόβῳ Θηβαίους.
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν. For the repetition cf. supra 18. § 46.
 ἀπομίσθων, here = 'unpaid,' elsewhere = 'dismissed.' Cf. Aristocr.
 § 154 ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἀπόμισθος γίγνεται παρὰ τοῦ Τιμοθέου τότε.
 ψευδόμενοι ῥαδίως. The Scholiast mentions Cephisodotus.
 τί καὶ χρῆ προσδ.; 'what *must* you expect?' καὶ goes with χρῆ.
 εὐθυνῶν. Here in the technical sense (not as Ol. 1. 28) of an official § 47.
 enquiry into the conduct of the generals.
 εἰς τοῦθ' αἰσχύνῃς. Cf. supra 37.
 δις καὶ τρις κρίνεται, etc. E. g. Autocles, Aristocr. 104; Cephisodotus, ib. 153; Leosthenes, Diod. 15. 95; Callisthenes, Aesch., 2. 30; Chares, Aesch. 2. 71.
 κακούργου . . . πολεμίοις. Dobree and Cobet regard these words as a gloss.
 περιόντες. Cf. § 10. § 48.
 μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, who were, of course, bitter enemies of the Thebans.
 After the battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C., Thebes had steadily pursued a policy of aggrandisement, and extended her power over all the towns in Boeotia.
 τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν. Refers to Boeotia and Arcadia (Megalopolis), where Philip proposed to break up the federal unions and make the country towns independent.
 ὡς βασιλία. Cf. Arrian, Anab. 2. 14. 2 (Letter of Darius to Alexander).
 περιερχόμεθα. Note the transition to the first person after φασί.
 τῶν πεπραγμένων, 'his achievements.' § 49.
 τὴν ἑρμῖαν τῶν κωλυσ. Cf. Syntax. 19 τῆς τῶν ἐναντιωσομένων ἑρμῖας ἀπολαύων.

ἄνθρωπος. Cf. supra 9.

§ 50. τινα πράξειν. τινα is masc. sing., used vaguely, 'all that we ever hoped any one would do for us.'

εὔρηται. Sc. πράξας, unless τὰ πράγματα is nom., in which case πραχθέντα must be supplied.

ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν. Cf. Philoct. 963 ἐν σοὶ καὶ τὸ πλεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀναξ etc. 'The future depends on ourselves alone.'

φαῦλα, i. e. ἔσται.

§ 51. οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε. For previous speeches of Demosthenes see note on supra 1.

οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος. Metaphor from furling of sails.

ἐπ' ἀδήλοισι οὐσι, etc., expresses condition. Cf. Thuc. 8. 97 ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς ἡγγελέμενοις. Cf. Mid. 30 ἐπ' ἀδήλοισι . . . τοῖς ἀδικήσουσιν.

OLYNTHIAC I.

ANALYSIS.

i. *Introduction.*

A CLEAR view of our advantage at the present moment would I doubt not, be highly prized by you, Athenians. You ought, therefore, to listen to all speakers alike ; that so your choice may be for the best.

ii. *Statement of the Case.*

We must join in this matter of Olynthus. We must vote help, §§ 2-13. and send it at once. We must also send ambassadors to announce our intentions, and prevent Philip from overreaching us. That which makes Philip so impregnable, his absolute control of the army and the means for its support, and his despotic position, will render the Olynthians suspicious of him. They will reject his overtures ; knowing very well that such overtures mean absolute subjection on their part. They have seen his conduct at Amphipolis and Pydna ; they are aware that despotisms are not to be trusted by free cities. You ought, therefore, to rouse yourselves, and take the deepest interest in the war. What you have long desired has at length occurred, spontaneously ; the Olynthians are at war with Philip, and not by any persuasion of ours, but for private reasons. We must not lose this opportunity as we have lost others. You might have regained Amphipolis, and kept other places, now lost, if you had been energetic enough. You have systematically neglected the present, and left the future to take care of itself, and the consequence is that Philip is more powerful than any king of Macedon before him. You have now another opportunity.—Is it not a cause for thankfulness to Heaven that we have such an opportunity, or shall we be like men who make money and are grateful as long as they keep their gains, but when these are gone, lose their gratitude also—shall our feelings be fixed by the result?—The future must receive your closest attention. If we abandon Olynthus, what is to

οὐκ οἶδ' ὄντινα, etc., 'I cannot describe our attitude.'

ἔστι δὲ. δὲ, as usual, introduces the practical conclusion.

ἤδη, 'at once.'

τὴν ταχίστην: cf. τὴν πρώτην, Olynth. 3, 2, Phil. 1. 23. It is not to be taken in agreement with βοήθειαν.

ὅπως . . . βοηθήσετε καὶ μὴ πάθητε. βοηθήσητε all MSS. except Pal. βοηθήσετε is due to Bekker.

ἐνθένδε. From Athens; without trusting to a general to raise forces or money on his way.

πάρεσται τοῖς πράγμασιν, 'watch events.'

§ 3. ἄνθρωπος: cf. Phil. 1. 9 οἱ προεληλυθ' ἀσελγείας ἄνθρωπος, Phil. 3. 27 τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

τρέψηται is translated 'overturn,' 'turn towards himself.' The use of the middle appears unsupported. κλέψῃ τε, which Cobet proposes gives good sense: 'steal some great advantage and appropriate it.'

τι τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων: cf. de Cor. 303 ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὄλοις: of 'vital interests.' What Demosthenes fears is that Philip will prevent an alliance between Olynthus and Athens, or make a new alliance of his own with Olynthus. Cf. also Ol. 2. § 31.

§ 4. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, corrective, 'not but what,' 'however.'

ἐπιεικῶς, 'on a fair view.' All the same it is not unreasonable to say that.

τοῦθ' ὁ δυσμαχότατος etc. Cf. Phil. 1. 2 ὁ γὰρ ἔστι χεῖριστος . . . τοῦτο βέλτιστον.

τὸ γὰρ εἶναι, etc. Cf. de Cor. 235 ἀπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης ἡγεμῶν κύριος πάντων, and F. L. 185.

ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων, 'dicenda tacenda.'

§ 5. ὑπὲρ suggests 'defence' (opp. to κατά); περὶ, more neutral, suggests 'discussion:' but they are not always distinguishable. Cf. note on Phil. 1. 1.

ἀναστάσεως. A preposition (περὶ or ὑπὲρ) must be supplied. Both prepositions can be used of (1) what is sought, and (2) what is avoided. Thuc. 5. 69. 1 ὑπὲρ τε πατρίδος ἢ μάχῃ ἔσται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ἅμα καὶ δουλείας; Aesch. Sept. 106 ἴδετε παρθένων ἱκέσιον λόχον δουλοσύνας ὑπὲρ.

ἀναστάσεως. Cf. ἀνάστατος, F. L. 39, of a country made desolate.

Ἀμφιπολιτῶν, Πυθναίων, partitive genitives with the participles which follow. Note the position of the name in each case before the participle.

καὶ Πυθναίων, etc., sc. ἂ ἐποίησε.

οἶμαι is used in introducing general statements. Somewhat similar is ὡς εἶκε.

ταῖς πολιτείαις, 'free states.' For the use of the word in this sense cf. Harpocr. *ιδίως εἰώθασιν οἱ ῥήτορες τῷ ὀνόματι χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας*: Ar. Pol. 8 (5). 7. 1307 *α τὰς ἀποκλινούσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος καλοῦσι πολιτείας*: Xen. Hell. 3. 6. 8 *τυραννίσι μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτείαις ἠδόμενοι*.

ἐθελῆσαι. The force of the aorist is to 'rouse your will' or 'come § 6. to some resolve'; Soph. O. T. 649 *πιθοῦ θελήσας*. Ol. 2. 13. For the absolute use of the verb, cf. Thuc. 5. 9 *νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀρχουσι πείθεσθαι*.

προσέχειν. The present expresses continuous devotion to the war, further developed in the following participles.

καὶ μηδέν, etc. *καί* sums up, 'and in a word.'

λόγος . . . σκῆψις, 'reason . . . excuse.'

ἐκπολεμῶσαι, corr. Σ and other MSS. *ἐκπολεμῆσαι*, (pr. Σ) ac- § 7. cording to Harpocraton, was the reading of the editions of Atticus.

μέχρι του, 'only for a while'; or 'up to a certain point.' Cf. Megalop. 24 *τὰ μὲν δίκαια πάντες ἐὰν καὶ μὴ βούλωνται, μέχρι του γ' αἰσχύνονται μὴ πράττειν*. What these injuries done by Philip to Olynthus were is uncertain.

ταῦτ' ἂν ἐγνώκοτες, 'would have been of this mind,' i. e. bent on war.

ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλημάτων, 'their hatred has its origin in grievances of their own.' *πρὸς* expresses a twofold relation; hence with *ἐχθρά* etc., words of accusing and hating, it may be used with an accusative either of the subject or the object. Cf. *τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες*, Phil. 2. 3.

βεβαίαν, emphatic position as predicate.

παραπεπτωκότα, 'which has fallen into your hands.' Schol. παρα- § 8. *πίπτειν τῶν τυχαίων ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀπροσδοκῆτου συμβαινόντων*. The language in regard to Olynthus here is hardly in accordance with De Chers. 65. The Olynthians had been alarmed at Philip's conduct as early as 352 B.C.

δθ' ἤκομεν. The relief of Euboea 358 B.C., when attacked by Thebes, is always referred to with pride; cf. Phil. 1. 17, De Chers. 74. See Introduction, p. 23.

Stratocles, see Boeckh, C. I. 2. p. 63 *ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ Φίλωνα καὶ Στρατοκλέα φεύγειν Ἀμφίπολις πολιτέων ἀειφυγίην καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας*: he was probably exiled after the capture of the city by Philip.

εἰ γάρ, etc. Demosthenes first enumerates the different occasions where an active policy would have saved them, and then introduces with *νῦν δέ* their actual do-nothing policy with its results.

παρήσαν ἐπὶ with acc., cf. Aeschin. 3. 71 *παρήμεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*. Cf. Phil. 1. 40.

είχετ' ἄν, 'you would have been in possession.' The imperfect is used because the possession, though commencing in past time, is continued down to the present.

§ 9. ἐνὶ τῷ πρώτῳ, 'the first that came.' Cf. Isae. 8. 33 πρὸς ἓνα δὲ τὸν πρῶτον τῶν συγγενῶν προσάξω.

αὐτοί, emphatic, cf. supra 2.

νῦν δέ, not of time, but of contrast. 'But as it was.' On the growth of Philip's power see Phil. 3. 21, infra 12.

σχῆσαι. ξεῖν is more usual in this intransitive sense, but σχῆσαι is used Soph. Aj. 654 ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ μὲν τούτοισιν εὖ σχήσει, and occasionally in prose, cf. De Pace, 18 ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσιν. There is also a difference of meaning. σχήσειν καλῶς seems to mean to come right, and ξεῖν καλῶς to continue right.

ἡμεῖς. N. B. position 'it is we who.'

νυνὶ δή, 'now, at this very moment,' in contrast with the lost opportunities of the past.

§ 10. ὑπηργμένων, of benefits conferred freely, not as a return for benefits (*ultra*); cf. Lysias, 21. 25 ἀνάξια τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπηργμένων: Aesch. 2. 199 διεξήει τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τὰς ὑπηργμένους εἰς Φίλιππον αὐτῷ: F. L. 280 διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας, ἃς ὑπῆρξαν εἰς ὑμᾶς.

λογιστής, de Cor. 227, the metaphor of calculation is followed up in *θείη* . . . ἀντίρροπον and leads to a further simile from money-making in infra 11. So below, 15. (For other similes in Demosth. cf. infra 14 (borrowing of money), Ol. 2. 10 (building a house), *id.* 21 (condition of the body), Ol. 3. 17, *id.* 33 (fugitives in battle), 37. 25 (physicians).)

τὸ μὲν γὰρ . . . τὸ δέ. For this antithesis of infinitives cf. de Cor. 254.

The construction is varied by (1) the change of person *θείη τις* to *θείην*; (2) the addition of a second clause *πεφηνέναι τε* in the second member of the antithesis.

τὸν πόλεμον, the war for Amphipolis.

ἀμελείας . . . εὐνοίας, for this genitive cf. de Cor. 254 τῆς ἀγαθῆς τυχῆς τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι.

§ 11. παρόμοιον ἔστιν ὅπερ: it seems simplest to supply *τούτῳ* before ὅπερ (Weil), cf. Phil. 2. 36 ἢ παραχρῆμ' ἂν ᾦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ (sc. τούτῳ) δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν. 'It is the same I suppose with opportunities in politics as with money-getting.'

τῶν πραγμάτων, 'politics' or 'policy.'

οὐδ' εἰ, etc., = καὶ εἰ συνέβη οὐ μνημ.

πρὸς γὰρ τό, etc., 'in the light of the last event:' cf. Cic. ad Att. 9. 8 'consilia ex eventu, non ex voluntate a plerisque judicari solent.'

τῶν πρὶν ὑπαρξάντων. The *πρὶν* is redundant with *ὑπαρξάντων*, but is put for contrast with *τελευταίων*, 'opportunities in the past.'

τῶν λοιπῶν, 'what remains for us to do,' i.e. war with Olynthus against Philip.

εἶτα, used in a running narrative without καί. Cf. Thuc. 1. 33. § 12.

τὸ κωλύον ἔσται, stronger than κωλύσει. Cf. Xen. An. 4. 5. 20 σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλύον.

ἔποι βούλεται. Dem. only hints at the invasion of Attica, which he puts plainly farther on, 15, 25. Tiberius quotes this as an instance of ἔμφασις, (ἔμφασις δὲ ἔστιν, ὅταν μὴ αὐτὸ τις λέγῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέρων ἔμφαινη).

λογίζεται . . . καὶ θεωρεῖ. Cf. de Cor. 252 σκέψασθε . . . καὶ θεωρήσατε.

δι' ὧν, the acc. is used of a cause (person or thing) which acts indirectly, the genitive of the immediate means or instrument, Ol. 3. 31 διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται: De Cor. 94 δι' ὄντινα δ' ἄλλον ἢ πόλις ἔστεφάνωνται σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα πλὴν δι' ἐμὲ οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

		B. C.
Amphipolis was taken	105. 3	358.
Pydna	105. 4	357.
Potidaea	106. 1	356.
Methone	106. 3	353.
Thessaly	106. 4	353.
Pherae	106. 4	352.
Pagasae	"	"
Magnesia	"	"

Invasion of Thrace 107. 1 352.

Philip advanced from Thessaly in the autumn of 352 to invade Greece and annihilate the Phocians, but was stopped at Thermopylae by an energetic expedition from Athens (F. L. 84, etc.) and fell back, and marched into Thrace. On his return from Thrace at the end of 352 he invaded Chalcidice, then Illyria, where he erected fortresses (Phil. 1. 48, he had defeated the Paeonians and Illyrians earlier in 359 and 356), and probably now defeated the Molossian Arybbas in Epirus. See Introduction, p. 20 ff.

ῥαίσις . . . ῥαθυμείν. Demosthenes is fond of paronomasia; cf. 1 τῶν βουλομένων συμβουλευεῖν, Phil. 1. 3 ἀθυμητόν . . . ἐνθυμητόν.

This narrative of Philip's achievements with the suggested contrast of Athenian inactivity prepares the way for Demosthenes' definite proposals, to which he passes (16), after drawing out, 14, 15, the disastrous consequences of inactivity. § 14.

τί οὖν etc., a rhetorical objection, ὑποφορά, very frequent in Demosthenes; cf. Ol. 2. 5, etc.

γνώτε . . . καὶ αἰσθησθε, expansion by synonym, cf. supra 12; Phil. 2. 33 ὁρᾶτε καὶ εὖ εἰδήτε.

The first object is a verbal clause τὸ προτεσθαι . . . ὡς ἀλυσιτελέε, the second a simple accusative.

συζῆ. Cf. De Cor. 258 τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχη.

ὕψ' ἦς, etc., 'which will not allow him' etc.

μῆζον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, 'to improve upon his present position,' or to add to his present possessions.

τελευτήσαι, 'where can we expect matters to stop?' For aor. inf. after verbs of expectation see Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, pp. 32, 33.

§ 15 ὄστις ἀγνοεῖ = ὥστε ἀγνοεῖν, cf. F. L. 312.

τὸν ἐκεῖθεν πολ., compressed for τὸν ἐκεῖ πολ. ἐκεῖθεν etc.

ὥσπερ, etc., for this simile of borrowing at heavy interest cf. F. L. 96 δέδοικα μὴ λελήθαμεν ὥσπερ οἱ δανειζόμενοι ἐπὶ πολλῷ ἄγοντες, De Chers. 53.

τοῖς μεγ. τόκ. The article marks usurious interest as well-known in Athens.

τῶν ἀρχαίων. τὰ ἀρχαῖα is used (1) of the principal on which interest is paid, and (2) of the security on which the loan is made. Here it is the latter. Cf. Pro Phorm. 41 οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος τῶν προσόδων, μὴ ὅτι τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰς τὰς λειτουργίας (ἀνηλωκώς).

ἀπέστησαν, gnom. aor., 'they lose:' cf. F. L. 143 τῇ πόλει (γέγονεν) ἀφεστηκέναι ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν κτημάτων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. For the aorist see supra 11 συναλάωσε.

οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂν ἐπί. Dobree MSS. followed by Z. and Cobet have omitted ἂν, in which case φανῶμεν and the following verbs all depend on δέδοικα. Blass makes φανῶμεν, ἔλθωμεν, κινδυνεύσωμεν, all depend on ἂν (= ἔάν) in which case the apodosis is not directly expressed, but only implied in the conditional clauses. It is also possible to make the apodosis begin with ἔλθωμεν.

ῶν = τούτων ᾗ gen. after πολλά.

εἰς ἀνάγκην . . . ποιεῖν. Cf. F. L. 341 εἶτε γὰρ ἤξει ποτε εἰς ἀνάγκην τῶν δικαίων τι ποιεῖν τῇ πόλει.

καὶ κινδ., sums up.

§ 16. τοῦτ' εἶναι. For this use of the demonstrative pronoun, emphasising a verbal clause, cf. Ol. 2. 16, etc.

οὐκ ἀγνοῶ etc. Cf. Phil. 2. 34 ὁρῶ ἐνίουσ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας.

ἐν ὀργῇ ποιεῖσθε. Cf. ἐν ἀσχύρῃ ποιεῖσθαι.

σκοποῦνθ', accus. of a subject in the 3rd person; he returns to the 1st pers. in ἡγοῦμαι. Cf. the use of 'one's' in English. 'I do not think any consideration of one's own safety ought to make one keep back any advice which I believe to be for your good.'

ὑποστείλασθαι. Cf. F. L. 237 ἀναγκὴ δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας διαλεχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενον, Phil. 1. 51; a metaphor from furling sails.

φημί δὴ introduces his actual proposals: cf. supra 2; Ol. 2. 27 § 17. δὴ (sharp transition to business).

τοῖς πράγμασιν, used in general sense, 'the situation' cf. supra 2. (Or 'the interests of Olynthus and Athens.')

τὰς πόλεις, the cities of Chalcidice attacked by Philip (they are mentioned again in F. L. 266 and Phil. 3. 26).

ἐτέροις, i. e. a second land force, besides the one sent to save the Chalcidic cities.

εἴτε, etc. This is a compressed way of expressing εἴτε ποιήσετε § 18. ... παραστήσεται καὶ ἀμυνεῖται etc. Thus the logical protasis, the Athenians' action, is put in the participles.

προσκαθεδεῖται, etc. For the metaphor cf. de Pace 15 τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐφεδρεύων ἕτερος καθεδεῖται. Cf. Aristocr. 167 προσκαθῆσθαι.

δεῖ δὴ. δὴ sums up the advice as it had introduced it. 'The conclusion then is that' etc.

περὶ δέ, etc., 'as to money resources' (used absolutely). § 19.

ἔστιν, 'money you have.' For the repetition cf. Ol. 2. 10.

οὐδενί. Dind. corrects to οὐδέσι, etc., cf. de Cor. 23 πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένας ἀπεσταλμένη where again Dind. and Cobet have the plural, cf. F. L. 66 οἷα οὐδένες ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλ.: but in this place Demosthenes may have been thinking of a single king or tyrant, or may have used οὐδεῖς collectively as in Ol. 2. 7; Phil. 1. 29, etc.

στρατιωτικά. The theoric fund (τὸ θεωρικόν) instituted by Pericles to pay for poor citizens at the festivals, revived after 403, was extended more and more and gradually absorbed all the surplus revenue which by the earlier law was spent on war. The board of the fund οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ came to have legal control of all surplus funds, and hence any proposal to apply them to war-purposes was liable to a γραφὴ παρανόμων. This was used against Apollodorus when in 350 at Demosthenes' instance he proposed a law applying the surplus to war (cf. in Neaer. §§ 4-8) and it is the fear of this which makes Demosthenes here approach the question indirectly. After Apollodorus' condemnation Eubulus got a law passed enacting capital punishment for anyone proposing this in future. (Schol. on Ol. 1. 1.) In 346 Eubulus is still found using the threat of converting the theoric fund as an incentive to peace, F. L. § 291, and it was not till Philip's approach 339-8 that τὰ χρήματ' ἐψηφίσαντο πάντ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά. Philoch. ap. Dion. Hal. 6. p. 742.

Note how Demosthenes avoids the word θεωρικά throughout. His meaning is that the money may still continue to be applied as at present, but given only to those who have done something to deserve it. In Olynthiac 3 (end) he approaches the question of the theoric money more boldly.

ἀν τις εἴποι cf. supra 14.

§ 20. καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά, after κατασκευασθῆναι in all MSS., but Bekker and other edd. omit ταῦτα to avoid contradiction. But here Demosthenes is only stating his opinion (ἡγοῦμαι), not his proposal (γράφεις).

μίαν σύνταξιν, that service and pay be regulated by one system or ordinance. Cf. Ol. 3. 34 οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν λέγεις; καὶ παραχρήμ' γε τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἀπάντων, . . . ἵνα τῶν κοινῶν ἕκαστος τὸ μέρος λαμβάνων, ὅτου δέοιτο ἢ πόλις, τοῦθ' ὑπαρχοι.

οὕτω πως, 'casually,' opp. to σύνταξιν, a systematic apportionment.

λαμβάνειν, inf. after ἡγείσθε.

ἔστι δὲ λοιπὸν, 'the one course left I suppose' (i. e. if you reject the application of the public funds you have in hand) is to raise an εἰσφορὰ to which we must all contribute. Demosthenes hopes to drive the Athenians into converting the theoric fund by a suggestion of the hated εἰσφορὰ.

δεῖ δὲ χρημάτων. . . δεόντων, 'money in any case we need, and without it we cannot do what is needful.'

ἕως. τῆως Rehdantz, which in Ol. 2. 21 and other places has the support of Σ: the meaning is the same.

ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων, 'lay your hand to the work.'

§ 21. Demosthenes describes Philip's position to show that this is a most favourable moment for Athens (21-25): and then once more points out the disastrous consequences of an inactive policy, to property and to honour, and concludes with a general appeal to all, to act with energy and prudence.

εὐτρεπῶς, 'well-prepared:' cf. Ol. 3. 13 εὐτρεπίσαι, Phil. 1. 18 εὐτρεπεῖς.

ὡς ἂν κάλλιστ', 'in the best condition possible.' Here the opt. is expressed: it is often omitted. Cf. De Cor. 291 οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὖνος καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην: Thuc. 6. 57 καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα δι' ὀργῆς ὁ μὲν ἐρωτικῆς ὁ δὲ ὑβρισμένος ἔτυπτον καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν αὐτόν.

ἔξήνεγκε, 'he would never have begun this war, if he had thought he would have to carry it on (for any time) seriously;' 14. 35 προτέρους ἐκφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον.

Dind. takes αὐτόν = πόλεμον, but it may very well be the subject of πολεμεῖν. 'That he would have to carry on the war in earnest himself.'

ὡς ἐπιών = οὕτως ὡς ἐπιών τις ἀναιρεῖται, 'that he would secure all his objects at a rush,' or 'that he had only to attack in order to secure.' This view of the case seems hardly borne out by the facts. Philip had made every preparation for this attack on Olynthus, and had carefully prepared the way by money and persuasion. Perhaps he thought the Olynthians would despair of resistance, but he was prepared for it if made.

κατα. εἶτα marks a contrast.

ταῦτα, the Thessalians. For this use of the neuter cf. infra 25 § 22. τὰ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων: cf. Phil. 1. 8 κατέπηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν. For Thessalian treachery cf. the proverb quoted by Schol. in Ar. Plut. 521 δὲ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἄπιστα: Dem. Aristocr. 112 ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐδένα προϋδάκατε πάποτε τῶν φίλων, Θετταλοὶ δ' οὐδένα πάποθ' ὄντιν' οὐ: De Cor. 63 ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει: (infra 43 οἱ μὲν καταπτυστοὶ Θετταλοί.)

κομιδῇ δ', etc., 'they were always of course a faithless race—and by nature, and all men found them so—but never did anyone find them more faithless than he does now.'

In 352 Philip took Pagasae and put Macedonian troops there, and also occupied Magnesia. The Thessalians then granted him the harbour and market dues. Cf. Ol. 2. 7.

δέοι, the optative continues the oblique construction. Cf. Polycl. 44 ἦδειν οὖν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν παραλαβὼν αὐτὴν κακῶς ἤμελλε τριηραρχήσειν. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ τριηραρχήματι οὔτε τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ χρήσιτο· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῷ παράμενοι: Soph. Phil. 535, Thuc. 2. 72.

τὰ κοινά, etc., 'the finances of the Thessalian confederacy must be supplied from this source.' For ἀπό cf. Phil. 1. 29 ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου.

τοῖς ξένοις, dependent on τὰ τῆς τροφῆς: cf. Ol. 3. 20 δι' ἀπορίαν ἐφοδῶν τοῖς στρατευομένοις, 'he will be reduced to great straits to find money for his mercenaries.'

τόν γε Παίονα. Sauppe thinks the sing. refers to princes, cf. de Pac. § 23. 25 τὸν Κάρα, Aristocr. 133 τὸν Θραῦκα, but it may be used collectively for the people (partly for euphony). Cf. Thuc. 6. 78. 1, Ar. Ach. 338.

οὐδὲν ἄπιστον ἴσως, 'we may very well believe it.'

τὸ γάρ, etc., 'for undeserved success is an occasion of folly to the unwise (thoughtless).' Demosthenes often clinches a statement by introducing a confirmatory γνώμη.

παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν: cf. Ol. 2. 8 παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. Cf. Thuc. 3. 39 εἶθε δὲ τῶν πόλεων αἷς ἂν μάλιστα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραγία ἔλθῃ, ἐς ὕβριν τρέπειν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κατὰ λόγον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐτυχούντα ἀσφαλέστερα ἢ παρὰ δόξαν.

διόπερ, etc., cf. Leptin. 50. Demosthenes puts the other side in Ol. 2. 26 πολὺ γὰρ βῆρον ἔχοντας φυλάττειν ἢ κτήσασθαι πάντα πέφυκεν.

τὴν ἀκαιρίαν . . . καιρόν, 'believing that his time of distress is § 24. our opportunity.'

συνάρασθαι, of lending a hand to lift a burden.

πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, 'on our border.'

πῶς ἂν, etc., instead of ὡς ἂν ἐτοιμότατα. The adverb is emphasised by a question, 'with what readiness do you think?' (πῶς going both

with verb and adverb), i.e. 'with all imaginable readiness.' Cf. Mid. 209 *ἐνθυμείσθε, εἰ γένοιτο οὗτοι κύριοι . . . τίνος συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἂν οἴεσθε; εἶτα*, 'and yet,' cf. Phil. I. 43, used in indignant questions.

εἰ μὴδ' . . . οὐ τολμήσετε. It has been proposed to omit *μηδέ* or *οὐ* (Cobet and others), but it is easy to explain the double negative from a blending of the two constructions, *εἰ μὴδ' ἂ πάθοιτ' ἂν . . . τολμήσετε;* and the simple question *εἶτα ἂ πάθοιτ' ἂν . . . οὐ τολμήσετε;* after summing up the relative clause in *ταῦτα*, the simpler form naturally follows as though no negative had gone before.

§ 25. Demosthenes repeats the argument of supra 15, that if Philip is not fought at Olynthus now, he will have to be fought in Attica later.

ἔτι, etc., 'once more, do not forget,' etc.

τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν, 'the land which you have so long held as your own,' i.e. Attica. The repetition of the article adds solemnity. Cf. F. L. 311 *τὴν ὀσίαν καὶ τὴν δικαίαν ψῆφον.*

§ 26. *Θηβαῖοι*; the enmity between Athens and Thebes dates from the Persian war. It was increased by the conduct of Thebes towards Plataea both in the Peloponnesian war and subsequently in the time of her supremacy. Just now Thebes had been fighting with success against the Phocians, who were being supported by Athens.

μὴ λίαν, etc., 'it may perhaps be a hard thing to say.' Cf. Plato Gorg. 462 E *μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν.*

Φωκεῖς; the Phocians, having exhausted the sacred treasures, would collapse without support from Athens or Sparta. For the attitude of Athens to Thebans and Phocians at this time cf. De Cor. 18 *τοῦ Φωκικοῦ συστάontos πόλεμον . . . ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκείας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὄρωντες, Θηβαίους δ' ὀτιοῦν ἂν ἐφροσθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι.*

ἢ ἄλλος τις; instead of answering this he interrupts with an objection, 'My friend, Philip will never wish to invade us.' For *ὦ τῶν* cf. Ol. 3. 29.

τῶν ἀποπωτάτων. Cf. Ol. 2. 2 *ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τῶν αἰσχρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν αἰσχίστων.* 'Why it would be indeed absurd if he should blurt out these plans now at the cost of being called a fool, and yet should refuse to carry them out if he had the power.'

μέντοι: cf. De Chers. 27.

ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνων: cf. Phil. I. 42.

§ 27. *ἔξω*, outside the city, but in Attica.

τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, part. gen. after *λαμβάνειν*. 'If you had to be in the field for no more than thirty days, living in camp, and supplying yourselves with necessaries from the produce of the country.'

λέγω, 'I mean, supposing there is no enemy in Attica.' Cf. De Chers. 24.

τὸν πρὸ τοῦ πόλεμον, for the sums spent on the war (for Amphipolis) cf. Ol. 3. 28.

εἰ δὲ δῆ, 'but if really the war comes into the country.' πόλεμος half personified, cf. supra. For εἰ δῆ cf. de Chers. 36.

ζημιώσασθαι, pass., subject τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.

ἡ ὕβρις, 'the insolence of the enemy, and the disgrace to our policy, which the wise will esteem more serious than all mere loss.'

Epilogue.—A final appeal to all classes to act together for their § 28. best interests.

καλῶς ποιούντες, 'the many possessions which I am glad to think that they enjoy.' Cf. Mid. 212 εἰσὶ μὲν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοὶ πλούσιοι καὶ καλῶς ποιῶσι, De Cor. 231.

τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, those of age for military service.

ἀκεραίου, proleptic, 'and so save it from harm.'

εὐθυναί, not in an official sense, for an orator need not hold any office subject to scrutiny, but more generally 'that their political life may easily bear examination,' or 'that they may find it easy to justify their policy.'

τὰ πράγματα . . . τῶν πεπραγμένων, antithesis, 'for the judgment of Athens on their acts will depend on the condition of her public interests.' 'For you will criticise their public acts in the light of public events.'

πάντος εἴνεκα. Schol. 'for everyone's sake.' Cf. Phil. 1. 51 νικῶν δ' ὅ τι πᾶσιν μέλλει συνοίσειν. It may however be neuter, 'on all accounts.'

For the concluding prayer cf. Phil. 1 and 3.

OLYNTHIAC II.

ANALYSIS.

i. Prologue.

THIS war between Philip and Olynthus may be looked on as an §§ 1, 2. instance of the benevolence of the gods to our city; and it is our duty, therefore, to exert ourselves to the uttermost, and not abandon the advantages fortune has thrown in our way.

ii. Choice of a subject.

This is not the time to rouse you to action by dwelling on the power §§ 3, 4. of Philip; language of that sort is more honourable to him than to you,

inasmuch as his exaltation implies your shame and disgrace. Indeed, his greatness is due to us rather than to himself, and it would be out of place now to notice his partizans here. There are other topics more seasonable; which are at the same time by no means creditable to him.

iii. *Philip's power is unstable.*

§§ 5-8. Mere assertion of a man's fraud and perjury is nothing but abuse: but in Philip's case the proof of his misdeeds is easy and brief. It is worth while to go through it in order to show you his dishonesty, and also to prove that his career is drawing to a close. In the first place he cheated you about Amphipolis, and so deprived you of an alliance with Olynthus. Again he won Olynthus by the gift of Potidaea, a city belonging to us; and more recently he has gained the Thessalians by the promise of Magnesia, and relief from the Phocian war. He has in fact cheated every one with whom he has had any doings. This dishonesty is now detected. Those who aided him when they thought that he was working for their good, will now seek his ruin when they find that he served his own ends. If this is not so, let some one get up and prove the contrary.

§§ 9, 10. But he is strong enough to hold what he has got against them. No! he has no loyalty to fall back upon. His power is reared on dishonesty and fraud, and in these cases the first excuse is seized upon, the first false step is ruinous. No lasting power was ever built up by perjury: for a brief moment such things prosper, then they fall into decay. Policy is like a house, or any other structure; the lower parts must be firm and strong or the building will come down.

iv. *What we must do.*

§§ 11-13. We must send aid to the Olynthians then, and the sooner the better. We must also send embassies to the Thessalians, who are now by no means pleased at Philip's course of action, and tell them of our movements. Above all, we must *do* something. Embassies from our city, unaccompanied by action, are distrusted. We must be able to point to a great change in ourselves. Then Philip's alliance will fall away, and even his own empire will be found in a miserable plight.

v. *State of Macedonia.*

§§ 14-21. Macedonia has always counted for something as an addition to other powers. Timotheus found it a useful addition against the Olynthians:

the Olynthians against Potidaea : the Thessalians against the tyrants. But standing alone it is weak and unsound, and Philip has made it weaker even than it naturally is. He and his subjects are not in harmony in their wishes and objects. His desire is to do what no Macedonian king has ever done before : they are wearied and broken with the war, ruined in their agriculture and trade. The feeling of the mass of Macedonians is therefore against him. The soldiers immediately about his person have a great reputation, but they are, as I am informed, a worthless crew. Every man of military skill is eliminated from motives of jealousy ; and the daily life is such that no man of decency can endure it. The refuse of our own country, men of no character, and reckless libertines are his chosen associates and friends. This may be thought a small matter, but it is not ; it betrays an abject condition of mind. In a short time all may be brought to light. So long as a man is in health he knows nothing of the secret weakness of his limbs, but in sickness every wrench and sprain is felt. So it is in a city ; when war comes to close quarters, the weaknesses are revealed.

vi. *Conclusion. What we require is vigour in the field, and reform at home.*

It may be said that it is dangerous to attack Philip in his present career of good fortune. That is a sound remark. Fortune is almost all powerful in human affairs. Still the fortune of our city is, in my judgment, to be chosen before the fortune of Philip. We have better reason to hope for the favour of Heaven, but we do nothing, and no one who sits idle can expect his friends even, much less the gods, to help him. No wonder then that he who neglects nothing is victorious over us who neglect everything. Rather I wonder that we who fought the Lacedaemonians in the cause of Hellas, and spent our blood and money to gain others their rights, will do nothing in defence of ourselves and our property. Does no one ever calculate how long we have been at war with Philip, and why the war has run out to this length ? It is because we do nothing ; we expect others to act for us, and put them on their trial and hope for better things, and so the time slips away. Can the same conduct change prosperity into misfortune, and misfortune into prosperity ? We have everything to win now, and we must act for ourselves. We must furnish money and take the field, and leave these trials till we have accomplished something. Our generals avoid this



war because there is nothing to be got by it and we do not pay the soldiers. They go away in search of gain; we put them on their trial, and when we hear what they have to say we acquit them. The sole result is a division of parties in the city. In truth our politics may be said to be managed by symmories as our taxes are. The orator is the leader, under him is the general, and there are the three hundred to give support. All this must come to an end. We must not have a division of burdens in the city; all must contribute, each his share; the best advice, not the counsels of a party, must be heard and taken. Then we shall have reason for self-commendation in the improved condition of our affairs.

§ 1. For the religious feeling expressed here cf. Ol. 1. 10. The infinitive with *άν* follows *δοκεί*, as *νομίζω* and similar words. For *δοκεί τις* cf. the more common *δοκῶ μοι*.

γυγνομένην Σ., better than *γενομένην*, as expressing the continuous operation of fortune.

τὸ γάρ, etc., (1) 'the fact that the men who are going to wage war with Philip have turned out to be men living on his border and possessing considerable power,' etc. The subject is *τοὺς πολεμήσαντας*, and the predicate *γεγενῆσθαι κεκτημένους*. Others (2) take *τοὺς πολεμήσαντας* as predicate (for article, Phil. 1. 23), 'that men have been found to wage war with him, and these men,' etc.

δύναμίν τινα = 'a considerable power.' Cf. Eur. El. 939 *ἤυχεις τις εἶναι*.

ὑπέρ = *περί*, as often. Cf. Ol. 1. 5.

διαλλαγás. In Ol. 1. 4 we find *καταλλαγás*, without any difference of meaning.

δαιμονία τινι καὶ θεία, 'seems like a superhuman and heaven-sent blessing.' For the combination cf. Plat. Apol. 31 D *ὅτι μοι θεῶν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον γίγνεται*. *θεῖος* marks the higher, *δαιμόνιος* the lower order of supernatural agency.

§ 2. *αὐτούς*, emphatic; 'we for our part must see how,' etc.: 'we can show that we will not deal less kindly with ourselves than fortune has done.' (Cf. Lys. 12. 80 *μηδὲ τῆς τύχης . . . κάκιον ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσῃτε*.) Dobree omits *αὐτούς* or alters to *ἡμᾶς*, 'how we shall prove ourselves not to fall short of the kindness of fortune.' Cf. Aesch. Pers. 742 *ἀλλ' ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτὸς χά θεὸς συνάπτεται*.

τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, the gifts of fortune which we have to start with, before our own efforts. Cf. Phil. 1. 2.

τῶν αἰσχρῶν. For the genitive cf. Ol. 1. 26, 'it is a shameful thing, nay a most shameful thing.'

πόλεων καὶ τόπων. This has been taken as (1) an inverse attraction to the relative *ὧν*, cf. de Cor. 6 *ἐτέρῳ δ' ὄτῳ κακόν τι δάσομεν ζητεῖν*. (2) As a partitive genitive. (3) As a genitive after *προιεμένους* used as a substantive; but this is hardly possible without the article. (4) As genitive after *προιεμένους* as a verb of resigning, on the analogy of *ἀφίεσθαι, μεθίεσθαι*. In any case the antithesis to *κύριοι* makes the genitive seem natural.

τὸ μὲν οὖν, resumed in *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν* and *ὧν οὖν*, and answered by § 3. *ἃ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς* infra 4.

ὑπὲρ τούτων, 'the elements of his power,' or 'the steps by which he has acquired it.'

ἔχειν φιλοτιμίαν, 'tends to his honour and glory.'

ἡμῖν δέ, instead of putting *αἰσχύνῃν* Demosthenes softens the antithesis (or leaves the sting to the end): 'all that one might say on this redounds to Philip's power, while it would be a story of ignominious failure on our part.' *ἡμῖν* is rather a dat. *commodi* than a dat. *instr.*

ὑπὲρ τῆν ἀξίαν. Cf. Ol. 1. 23. 'For he has won admiration in the eyes of men in proportion as his achievements have surpassed his deserts; while you have incurred dishonour in proportion as you have failed to use your powers as you ought.'

ἐνθένδε, 'this place (the platform) is the real source of his power.' § 4. This is an assertion often made by Demosthenes, cf. infra Ol. 3. 28 *φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ παρελθὼν πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἰσχυρὸς γέγονεν ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν Φίλιππος*.

ὧν with *χάριν* and *δίκην*.

τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, 'the Athenian politicians who have fought his battles.'

οὐχί, etc. If *τούτων* be retained before *οὐχί* it is genitive after *καιρόν*, which has thus two genitives, 'horum nunc non video tempus dicendi.'

βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἀκηκόεσθαι, 'it is as well for you all to have heard.' Cf. Timocr. 190 *βέλτιον προακηκόεσθαι*.

φαίνοιτ' ἄν, i. e. *εἰ τινες βούλοιντο*, the hypothesis being placed in the participle.

διεξιόντα, acc. in agreement with the subject *τινα* of *ἐλέγχειν*.

ἐλέγχειν, sc. *τοιούτων ὄντα*, 'but to go through all his acts and convict him of falseness in every one, it so happens does not need any words.' For the antithesis *λοιδορία . . . ἔλεγχος* cf. in Androt. 22.

τοῦ τ' ἐκείνον, etc., 'to show him up as the villain he really is.' The second *τοῦ* is omitted by Σ. Cf. de Pace 1, where Σ omits *τῷ*.

πάντα διεξελήλυθεν. (1) 'He has exhausted every art in the course (game) of cajolery by which he before acquired his power;' cf. Thuc. 3. 45 *διεξεληλύθασι γε διὰ πασῶν τῶν ζημιῶν*, Isocrat. 4. 111 *τί τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἢ δεινῶν οὐ διεξήλθον*; (2) Intrans. with *πάντα* as subject.

§ 5.

Cf. Meid. 84 πάντα δ' ἤδη διεξεληλύθει τὰκ τῶν νόμων, ὑπαμοσίου καὶ παραγραφαί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἦν ὑπόλοιπον.

παρακρουόμενος. Cf. de Cor. 276. Harpocration says the metaphor is taken from men shaking or pushing a measure or weight for their own advantage.

τὰ πράγματα, 'his career.'

αὐτῷ. For the dat. cf. infra 8 Φιλίππῳ.

§ 6. θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν, 'on careful examination.'

τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν εὐθείαν, 'our simplicity,' put in the emphatic position. The predicate προσαγαγόμενον governs τὴν εὐθείαν, τὴν Ὀλυνθίαν φιλίαν and Θετταλοῦς.

τὸ θρυλούμενόν ποτε ἀπόρρητον, 'by his contriving that secret negotiation which was so much talked of.' Suidas explains this from Theopompus as the negotiation between Philip and Antiphon and Charidemus for the acquisition of Amphipolis in exchange for Pydna, which was kept from the Assembly in order to blind the Pydnaeans. Cf. Aristoph. Eq. 653 κἀγὼ φρασ' αὐτοῖς ἀπόρρητον ποιησάμενος, Andoc. 2. 3 εἰσαγγέλωντός μου ἀπόρρητα εἰς τὴν βουλὴν.

κατασκευάσαι, of underhand intrigue. Cf. Meid. 134. Potidaea was taken by Philip and given to the Olynthians in 356 B. C.

προσαγαγόμενον, 'won over to his side.' Cf. Thuc. 3. 43 τῇ ἀπατῇ προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος.

§ 7. ἐξελεῖν, 'taking by storm.' Cf. de Chers. 44; Thuc. 3. 113.

καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρότερον, etc. In English one of these clauses becomes subordinate, 'wronging you by handing it over to them.'

Θετταλοῦς. From Ol. 1. 22 it appears that the Thessalians forbade Philip to garrison Magnesia. It was given back to them in Ol. 108. 3. Cf. Phil. 2. 22.

νῦν of time. τὰ τελευταία of the order of events.

ἀναδέξασθαι, 'take upon oneself.' For fut. inf. cf. in Apat. 22 ἀνεδεξάμην ἐκτίσειν, it is common with verbs of promising.

ἀεὶ, 'on each occasion.'

ἀνοιαν. Cf. Plat. Gorg. 464 D τῷ δὲ ἀεὶ ἡδίστῳ θηρεύεται τὴν ἀνοιαν καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ.

προσλαμβάνων, 'turning to his own use,' 'making capital of.' Cf. Aesch. 3. 126 ἐκφέρεται προβούλευμα . . . προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν.

οὕτως sums up, 'these were the means by which he acquired his power.'

§ 8. τούτων, masc., 'the same men who have been the instruments of his elevation ought now to become the instruments of his fall.' For the form of expression cf. Thuc. 6. 11 ᾧ γὰρ ἂν τρόπῳ τὴν ἡμετέραν (ἀρχὴν) μετὰ Πελοποννησίων ἀφέλωνται, εἰκὸς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν

σφετέραν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καθαιρεθῆναι, where however διὰ is used of the means, not as here of the agent.

καιροῦ, gen. after τοῦτο. Cf. Phil. 1. 37 τοῦθ' ὕβρεως, etc.

πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι. Cf. Ol. 1. 8 παρήσαν . . . ἐπὶ τουτί τὸ βῆμα.

ἤ, 'if it is not so.' Cf. Ol. 3. 28.

παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀξίαν. Cf. supra 3.

δεδουλώμενοι, this is an exaggeration, but the word is often used loosely, e. g. of the relation of the subject allies to Athens.

καὶ μῆν, 'moreover'; marks the transition to a new argument. § 9.

καθέξειν, 'keep a firm hold on his power.'

τὰ χωρία, 'fortified posts.' The article extends to λιμένας.

ὑπ' εὐνοίας, used because συστῆ has a passive force, 'when power is held together by a bond of good will.'

πρόφασις, here of a real cause. Cf. Plat. Rep. 556 E; 'but when a man's power, like his, is grounded on selfish and wicked conduct, a slight cause or a small slip overthrows and destroys everything.'

ἀνεχαίτισεν, properly of a horse throwing its neck (mane) back and upsetting the rider. Cf. ἐκτραηλισθῆναι Phil. 3. 51. διέλυσεν is added to recall the original metaphor συστῆ. Cobet omits καὶ διέλυσεν, but it is quite Demosthenes' way to add a defining verb. Cf. Phil. 1. 3. The aorists are gnomic, as often in similes, supra Ol. 1. 11.

οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐκ ἔστιν, for the repetition cf. Ol. 1. 19. 'It is impossible, for ever impossible, to make injustice, and perjury, and falsehood the basis of a solid power.' For the thought cf. de Cor. 227 θεάσασθε ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔστι φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγμένον. § 10.

τὰ τοιαῦτα, 'power acquired by such means.'

εἰς ἀπαξ. Cf. 20 εἰς μακράν, de Symm. 24 εἰς τότε.

ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, 'it blossoms in men's hopes.' ἐπί expresses the foundation or condition. Cf. Phil. 1. 51 ἐπ' ἀδήλοισ τοῖς . . . γενησόμενοις: for the metaphor cf. 'to-day puts on The tender leaves of hope.'

περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ, 'like a flower it falls and withers.' περὶ αὐτά, 'round themselves.' There is a contrast between αὐτά and ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, the things themselves and the hopes which attend them. Cf. Thuc. 6. 18 τὴν πόλιν τρέψεσθαί τε αὐτὴν περὶ αὐτήν.

ὥσπερ γάρ, etc. Demosthenes recurs to the idea of solid building expressed in συστῆ and βεβαίαν, and expands it in a simile.

τὰς ἀρχάς, etc. the principles and foundations on which you build. Cf. Ol. 3. 2 πρὶν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς ὑποθέσθαι.

φημι δῆ. With these words he introduces his definite proposals: (1) § 11. to send help to Olynthus; (2) to stir up Thessaly.

διδάξει ταῦτα. It seems simplest to understand ταῦτα of the Athenian

preparations. Others take it of Demosthenes' exposure of Philip's real weakness.

λόγους ποιείσθαι, 'negotiate.'

καὶ γὰρ νῦν, in 1. 22 Demosthenes speaks of this demand of the Thessalians as a proof of their faithlessness; now he mentions it with sympathy as a hopeful sign. It has been inferred from this that the attitude of the Athenians to the Thessalians had changed in the interval. In Olynthiac 3 no mention is made of them, which perhaps means that Philip secured his power there in the winter of 349 B.C.

§ 12. ἐξεληλυθότων . . . ὄντων, the main idea here is put in the participle.

Cf. infra § 25, Phil. 1. 2.

ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, 'on the spot,' 'in the midst of the action.'

ὄσφ ἐτοιμότατ', etc. This combination of the superlative with the comparative is not common, but it here serves to emphasise the first clause. Franke quotes in Polycl. 15 ὄσφ γὰρ φιλοτιμούμενος ἄμεινον ἐπληρωσάμην τὴν ναῦν ἐρετῶν ἀγαθῶν, τοσοῦτφ μοι πλείστη ἀπόλειψις ἐγένετο τῶν ἄλλων τριηράρχων. There is no need therefore to accept Cobet's conjecture, changing γὰρ to καί, and omitting τοσοῦτφ . . . αὐτῶ.

πολλὴν δὴ, etc. Note the order. 'You have to show that your policy is changed and transformed, but the change must be great, and the transformation complete.'

μεταβολή, 'change;' μεταστάσις, 'the changed state.' Thuc. 6. 20. 1 πόλεις οὔτε δεομένας μεταβολῆς ('mutatio,' Poppo), ἢ ἂν ἐκ βιαίου τις δουλείας ἄσμενος ἐς βῶν μετάστασιν ('mutatus status,' Poppo) χωροίη.

§ 13. εἰσφέροντας, sc. ὑμᾶς, accus. as though δεικτέον = δεικνύναι δεῖ.

εἴπερ τις, etc. 'if you wish anyone to attend to you' = προσέξειν μέλλει. For this use of the fut. cf. Plat. Rep. 375 A καὶ μὴν ἀνδρείον γε (δεῖ εἶναι ἐκάτερον αὐτοῖν) εἴπερ εὖ μαχεῖται.

ἔθελήσητε, 'if you make up your mind' (aor.). Cf. Soph. O. T. 649 πιθοῦ θελήσας.

καὶ δεῖ, 'as honour and necessity demand.' Cf. de Cor. § 17 ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον καὶ προσήκον ἴσως. Dindorf reads καὶ δὴ, 'at once,' which is forcible and has MS. support. Cf. Phil. 1. 13 καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν.

οὐ μόνον, etc., 'not only will his allies be shown to be weak and untrustworthy, but his own empire and his own power will be proved to be entirely unsound.'

ἀρχή, 'empire,' control of his subjects; δύναμις, 'power in the field.' Cf. οἰκεία δυνάμει, 'a force of our own.'

§ 14. ἐν μὲν προσθήκης μέρει, 'in the place of (i.e. considered as, or equal to) an addition it is no mean help.' Cf. Pseudo-Demosth. ad Ep. Phil. 3 ἐν μὲν προσθήκης μέρει βροπήν ἔχει τινα καὶ χρήσιν: Ol. 3. 31 ἐν ὑπέρτερου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει, also ἐν οὐδενὸς μέρει.

ὑπῆρξε, stronger than ἐγένετο. The word almost = 'supported you.' Cf. Xen. An. 1. 1. 4 ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, Phil. 1. 2.

ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου probably refers to Timotheus' expedition to Chalcidice in 364, when he was helped by Perdicas and took Torone and Potidaea, Diodor. 15. 81, Introd. § 22.

πρὸς Ποτίδαιαν. Supra 6.

ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο συναμφοτέρων, 'the two powers (Olynthus and Macedon) combined appeared considerable.' As a matter of fact Philip took Potidaea without the Olynthians.

ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν, against the tyrants of Pherae 353 B. C.

στασιάζουσι. The form of the expression implies that if the Thessalians had been united they would not have required Philip's assistance.

καὶ sums up, 'and in a word, wherever,' etc.

κἂν with adj., cf. Soph. El. 1482 ἀλλά μοι πάρες κἂν συμκρὸν εἰπεῖν.

πάντα, which is an adjective, sums up all the cases in which power has been given; it is probably a cognate accusative.

καὶ γάρ, 'and indeed.'

οἷς is almost = δι' αὐτῶν, but is influenced by the preceding instrumental dative. § 15.

ἐπισηφαλεστέραν goes back to δύναμις.

τοῦτ' ἐξήλωκε, 'this is the height of his ambition;' for the neuter after δόξης cf. Ol. 3. 11 ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταῦτα (sc. τοὺς νόμους) λύσητε. The perfect indicates a settled state, 'he has made this his ambition.'

μεστός, 'saturated with.'

προήρηται, 'has made it his deliberate choice to suffer death if need be, whatever may befall;' for the euphemistic use of παθεῖν cf. Phil. 1. 11 ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ.

πράττων καὶ κινδυνεύων, for πράττειν followed by a defining word cf. Phil. 3. 17 πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος. The ambition of Philip is described in de Cor. 67.

φιλοτιμίας. Cf. supra 3; this passage is decisive for the meaning 'credit,' not as infra 18, 'ambition.' § 16.

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, 'at their business,' primarily of tillage, but also of other occupations.

τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις, 'their private affairs.' Cf. Isocr. 3. 19 (the magistrates) ὑστερίζουσι τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν μὲν γὰρ πλείστον χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις διατρίβουσιν.

οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται, 'in whatever way they can.' Cf. in Boeot. 2. 4 μετ' εὐνοίας τέ μου ἀκοῦσαι οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωμαι λέγοντος.

κεκλειμένον, etc. Cf. F. L. 153, 315. The statement is probably exaggerated; see Phil. 1. 31, 32.

σκέψαιτο, σκέψασθαι is here = to 'form an opinion;' 'come to the end of consideration.'

οἱ δὲ δὴ, δὴ is ironical.

πεζῆταιροι, 'foot-guards'; they were the body-guards of the Macedonian king, established by Alexander, the brother of Philip. Cf. Arrian 3. 11. 3; they were Macedonians and are hence opposed to ξένοι.

συγκεκροτημένοι, 'well drilled in military matters,' lit. 'hammered together.' The word is used of the work of the chorodidaskalos; cf. Meid. 17 τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἀπελάσας αὐτὸς συγκεροτεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν ᾧετο δεῖν τὸν χορόν. It is then used of drilling crews and soldiers, the chief idea being 'training in combined action.' Cf. Thuc. 8. 95 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κατὰ τάχος καὶ ἀεὺγκεροτήτοις πληρώμασιν ἀναγκασθέντες χρήσασθαι, Polyb. 1. 61 πληρώματα συγκεκροτημένα.

§ 18. οὐδένων βελτίους, 'they are no better than any other set of men.'

οἶος. Cf. Ar. Vesp. 970 ὁ δ' ἕτερος οἶός ἐστιν οἰκουρὸς μόνον, Plat. Apol. 23 A πολλαὶ μὲν ἀπέχθειαί μοι γεγόνασι καὶ οἶαι χαλεπώταται καὶ βαρύτεραι.

τούτους, the plur. refers to the class of men described in εἴ τις οἶος. Cf. de Cor. 277 εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦτον, κατὰ τούτων (sc. εὐρήσετε).

τούτους μὲν, for μὲν in apodosis cf. Hdt. 3. 108 ὅσα μὲν ψυχὴν τε δεῖλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγωνα πεποίηκε· ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἄμικτα, ὀλιγόγωνα.

τὴν φιλυτιμίαν, sc. αὐτοῦ. Others make Philip subject of ἀνυπέβλητον.

ἢ δίκαιος ἄλλως, 'if a man is temperate or commonly upright,' the meaning being that not only σωφροσύνη but ordinary honesty is shocked by his behaviour.

κορδακισμούς. Cf. Theophrast. Charact. 16 ὁ δὲ ἀπονενοημένος . . . δυνατὸς καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι νήφων τὸν κόρδακα καὶ προσωπεῖον μὴ ἔχων ἐν καιρικῷ χορῷ. The Greeks were exceedingly sensitive to the effect of dancing, as we see from the story of Clisthenes and Hippoclidēs, in Herodotus 6. 129.

§ 19. ἐν οὐδενὸς μέρει, 'is accounted a nobody.' Cf. ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει, etc., Ol. 3. 31 ἐν ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει.

ληστὰς is in contrast with ἔμπειρος πολέμου, κόβλακας with σώφρων, etc.

τῶν θαυματοποιῶν, 'jugglers and acrobats.' Xen. Conviv. 2. 1 ὀρχηστρίδα τῶν τὰ θαύματα δυναμένων ποιεῖν.

τὸν δημόσιον, 'the public slave.' Cf. Chers. 47 ταμίης καὶ δημοσίου.

§ 20. εἰς τοὺς συνόντας, 'for the enjoyment of the company.'

κακοδαιμονίας, 'his miserable character.' Sanity is regarded as a gift of the gods, or of fortune. Cf. Ol. 3. 21 οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἄφρων οὐδ' ἀτυχήσῃ

εἰμι ἐγώ, etc., F. L. 115 ἀνόητος καὶ κακοδαίμων. 'God-forsaken condition' gives the best idea of the meaning.

τὸ κατορθοῦν, sc. αὐτόν, 'the fact of his success.'

ἐπισκοτεῖ. For the literal use cf. Meid. 158 οἰκίαν ψ'κοδόμηκεν Ἐλευσίνι τοσαύτην, ὥστε πᾶσιν ἐπισκοτεῖν τοῖς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ.

αἱ εὐπραξίαι, etc. Sall. or. Lep. 24 'secundae res mire sunt vitiis obtentui, quibus labefactis quam formidatus est tam contemnetur.'

δειναί, 'have a wonderful power.' Cf. Ol. 1. 3.

αὐτοῦ, possessive genitive after ταῦτα. 'These things in him will be brought.'

δοκεῖ . . . δεῖξεν. The subject is indefinite. 'I think the event will prove it before long.' Cf. Ar. Ran. 1261 δείξει δὴ τάχα, Dem. F. L. 157 αὐτὸ δηλώσει.

θέλωσι . . . βούλησθε, 'if the gods will, and if you desire it.' Cf. F. L. 19. 23 καὶ οὐτ' ἀκούειν ἠθέλετε οὔτε πιστεύειν ἠβούλεσθε. Whatever the difference between the two words, θέλειν is commonly used with θεός.

ὥσπερ γάρ. Demosthenes uses the same simile in de Cor. 198 ὥσπερ § 21. τὰ ρήγματα καὶ τὰ σπᾶσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ τότε κινεῖται, where he applies it to Aeschines, who is only active when the city is in trouble. Cf. Plat. Rep. 556 E οὐκοῦν ὥσπερ σῶμα νοσῶδες μικρᾶς βροφῆς ἕξωθεν δεῖται προσλαβέσθαι πρὸς τὸ κάμνειν . . . οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ διακειμένη πόλις ἀπὸ μικρᾶς προφάσεως . . . νοσεῖ τε καὶ αὐτὴ αὐτῇ μάχεται.

τέως, an Ionism for ἕως, the use of which in Demosthenes rests on the authority of MSS. and grammarians.

ἐπαισθάνεται, 'has no perception of it.' ἐπί as in ἐπιγιγνώσκειν.

κἄν ρήγμα, 'whether there be a rupture (of the muscles), or a sprain, or any other weakness in the system,' lit. 'any other part of the system be weak.'

σαθρόν only goes with ἄλλο τι. Some have attempted to avoid the difficulty by reading σαθρῶν.

συμπλακῆ. Phil. 3. 51 συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι, metaphor from wrestling. 'When they are involved in a close struggle with a neighbour, it brings all into clear light.'

ἐποίησεν, gnomic aorist. Cf. supra 9.

§ 22.

ταύτη, 'in this respect.'

τὸ δλον. πᾶν would have been more usual, but is perhaps avoided because of the following πάντα. τὸ δλον becomes commoner in later Greek. See the lexx. to Xenophon and Plato.

παρὰ πάντα. παρὰ with acc. Cf. Phil. 1. 33 note.

ἐλοίμην . . . ἦ. The force of preference is strong enough in ἐλέσθαι to make μάλλον unnecessary. Cf. Lys. 2. 62 θάνατον μετ' ἐλευθερίας

αἰρούμενοι ἢ βίον μετὰ δουλείας, and the use of δέχομαι (Ast's Lex. to Plato) and βούλομαι.

ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, again insisting on *personal* effort. Cf. infra 23.

καί, etc., 'even by degrees.'

§ 23. ἀφορμάς, 'I see you have better resources (strictly "funds") for winning the favour of the gods' (i. e. in your piety and honesty).

οἶμαι, 'forsooth.'

οὐκ ἐν δ', etc. Cf. de Rhod. lib. 25 ὡς ἔστιν ἄτοπον περὶ τῶν δικαίων ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν αὐτὸν οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντα.

μή τί γε δῆ, 'much less.' Cf. μή τί γε de Chers. 27. It is generally explained by the ellipse of an imperative, e. g. ὑπολάμβανε, 'never suppose that you can command the gods.'

πυνθανομένων, 'making enquiries.' Cf. Phil. 1. 10 ἢ βούλεσθ' εἰπέ μοι περιῶντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι λέγεταί τι καινόν;

24. οὐ δὴ θαυμαστόν . . . οὐδὲ θαυμάζω, etc., 'it is not wonderful, and I for my part do not wonder . . . what I do wonder at is,' etc.

ἐκεῖνο, of what follows; cf. Phil. 1. 50 ἀλλ' ἂν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκεῖν' εἰδῶμεν.

ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, etc. Cf. Phil. 1. 3.

ἀντήρατε, intr. Cf. Phil. 2. 5 μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντᾶραι δυνησόμεθα.

προεκινδυνεύετε. Cf. de Cor. 208 τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας, of the Athenians.

καθ' ἓνα αὐτῶν. ἕκαστον is not necessary, and is not in Σ. For the phrase καθ' ἓνα used substantivally cf. Phil. 3. 22 τὸ ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται καὶ καθ' ἓνα οὕτως ἐπεκρίθη καὶ λαοδοτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

§ 25. τὰ δ' ὑμέτεροι. Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Methone.

πέντε χρόνον, nine years.

τί ποιοῦντων. The main predicate is expressed by the participle, 'what you have been doing while this time has run its course.' Cf. supra 12.

αὐτῶν (Cobet omits), 'yourselves,' as opposed to ἑτέροις τινος. (Schol. οἷον τοὺς ξένους καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον.) For the thought cf. de Symmor. 15 ἀπεβλήσατε πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἕκαστος οὐ ποιήσων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξοντα.

κρινόντων. See note on Phil. 1. 47.

σχεδόν ταῦτά, etc. The situation is brought sarcastically home to the Athenians by being identified with the present. 'In fact your conduct all the while was very much what it is now; and so the time has passed.'

§ 26. ἅπασ . . . διελέλυθεν, Cobet omits.

οὕτως ἀγνωμόνως, 'so utterly wanting in judgment.'

ἐκ χρηστῶν. Cf. ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι Ol. 3. 29.

οὐτ' εὐλογον, 'it is against reason and against nature.'

φύσιν ἔχον. The part. is used instead of ἔχει to correspond with the adjective. Cf. de Cor. 13 οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστι.

πάντα is the object after the infinitives, which are the subject of πέφυκεν. 'For it is naturally much easier to keep anything when you have it than to get it.' For the thought cf. Thuc. 2. 62 αἰσχιον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυχῆσαι, and for the other side cf. Ol. 1. 22.

φημί δὴ δεῖν. For δὴ cf. Ol. 1. 6. and 31 below. He passes at § 27. once to the main points of his advice.

πρὶν ἄν, etc., 'until you have obtained some control of affairs.'

ἔργων. Ruediger quotes the case of Leosthenes' hasty trial from Diod. 15. 95.

τὰς προφάσεις. The excuses of the generals, who complained of the § 28. want of supplies and money, τὰ . . . ἑλλείμματα. Cf. Phil. 1. 24. 25.

τούτων, the war with Philip.

πάντας ὄσους ἄν. Weil and others think that Demosthenes is here defending Chares against attack. Cf. F. L. 332 Χάρης εὐρήσεται πιστῶς καὶ εὐνοικῶς . . . πράττων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

'Ἀμφίπολις may be regarded as an attraction for Ἀμφίπολιν, but its position is very harsh.

εἰ δεῖ τι, 'if we are to speak the truth about the generals as well as about others.' Cf. Meid. 112 εἰ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἤδη δεῖ, etc. apologises for introducing the subject.

τὰ δῶλα . . . τὰ λήμματα, the honourable prizes of war as opposed to private gains. Cf. Phil. 1. 5 δῶλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ.

ἐκεῖ, 'in the wars which they undertake.' Cf. Phil. 1. 24.

τὰ λήμματα, of personal and selfish gain. Cf. de Pace 12 οὐδὲν λήμμι ἄν οὐδεὶς ἔχοι πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι καὶ λέγω δεῖξαι προσηρημένον.

Lampsacus and Sigeum, both in the satrapy of Artabazus, with whose permission Chares seems to have occupied them in 356. Diod. 15. 95 οὗτος (Χάρης) τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους εὐλαβούμενος, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἀδικῶν διετέλει. Charidemus occupied Scepsis, Cebren, and Ilium in the same way. Cf. in Aristocrat. 154.

τὰ πλοῖα. Cf. de Chers. 24—the Chians, etc. pay blackmail to the Athenian generals—ἀνούμενοι μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκπλέοντας ἐμπόρους, μὴ συλαῖσθαι, παραπέμπεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ αὐτῶν, τὰ τοιαῦτα φασὶ δὲ εὐνοίας (benevolences) διδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο τούνομ' ἔχει τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα.

δόντες λόγον, 'when you have given them a hearing.' Cf. Timocr. § 29. 65.

ταύτας, sc. τὰ ἑλλείμματα of 27.

περίεστι, etc., 'and so the final result is that you are at strife and divided against one another, and the public interest is ruined.'

πρότερον μὲν γάρ. Demosthenes compares the two parties in the Athenian assembly with the divisions of the people for the payment of the property-tax (εἰσφορά). The parallel does not strictly hold, as the 300 belonged not to one company (συμμορία) but to all. The comparison must not be pressed in detail. 'Each party has an orator at its head and a general at his beck, and there are the 300 to shout their support.' For the 300 cf. de Cor. 171. Aesch. 1. 159 uses συμμορία metaphorically.

καὶ στρατηγός, now that statesman and general were no longer united in one person, orator and general had to form alliance; so Aristophon and Chares. Cf. Plut. Mor. 486 D καὶ συνεργοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις μάλλον, ὡς Δημοσθένης καὶ Χάρης, καὶ πάλιν Αἰσχίνης [καὶ Φωκίων], καὶ Εὐβουλος [καὶ Διοκείθης] καὶ Ὑπερίδης καὶ Λεωσθένης, οἱ μὲν λέγοντες ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ γράφοντες, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοῦντες καὶ πράττοντες.

Instances of this division of functions are rare in earlier times, but there seems to be one in the case of Demosthenes in the Peloponnesian war.

§ 30 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. Cf. Phil. 1. 7 ἀν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐτελήσθητε γενέσθαι.

ὑμῶν, genitive after τυραννίδος. Cf. de Cor. 66 ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

§ 31. λέγω δὴ, 'to sum up then, what I urge upon you is this.' Cf. supra Ol. 1. 17.

τὸ ἴσον, 'each contributing the just proportion according to his means,' according to the graduated system of the εἰσφορά. See Boeckh's account of this in his 'Public Economy of Athens.'

κατὰ μέρος, 'in turn.' Cf. Phil. 1. 21 ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις.

ὁ δεῖν' hints at someone whose name one does not care to mention; here probably Eubulus. Cf. 19 (F. L.) 206 μή μοι σωξέσθω μηδ' ἀπολύσθω μηδεῖς, ἀν ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα βούληται.

τῶν ὄλων. Cf. Ol. 1. 3 τρέψηται καὶ παρασπᾶσθαι τι τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων.

OLYNTHIAC III.

ANALYSIS.

i. Prologue.

§§ 1-3. I FIND that your words are not borne out by facts; you speak of vengeance on Philip, but facts force you to defend yourselves. Your orators mislead you. Vengeance on Philip was possible once, but now our first duty is to save our allies. Never did you need counsel more

than now. It is easy to find counsel to give you, but it is hard to know how to give it; for your failure is due not to want of knowledge, but to want of will.

Bear with me if I speak plainly: fair words have been your ruin.

ii. *Past events show the need for present action.*

I must remind you of the past. Three or four years ago Philip was § 4. besieging Heraeon Teichos. You voted to send forty triremes, a large force of citizens, and to raise sixty talents. After four months you sent § 5. Charidemus with ten ships, without men, and only five talents. Again, when Philip was ill, instead of seizing the opportunity, you let it go. That is why Philip is left to vex us now.

Once more you have an opportunity. If you do not act with vigour §§ 6-9. your tactics will only serve Philip's cause. Look at the facts. There was Olynthus, a powerful city on Philip's border. We made a peace with the Olynthians, and so hampered Philip's movements; our policy was to set them at war with him. Now that war has come (how it came does not matter), surely we are bound to help Olynthus with all our might. If we do not, besides the dishonour of an opportunity lost, we shall have the fear of Philip close upon us, for Thebes is no defence, and the Phocian funds are exhausted. It is better to meet dangers abroad than to wait for them at home, to offer alliance than to seek it. These are the only alternatives.

iii. *Practical proposals.*

We are agreed to help Olynthus, but how are we to do it? Do not §§ 10-13. be startled at my proposal. I want you to appoint a board of Nomothetae, to abolish the vicious laws which waste the Theoric fund, and discourage military discipline. Until these are repealed you cannot expect that anyone will choose to advise you to his own ruin, especially as his advice could do you no good. We may fairly ask those men to repeal these laws who first passed them. It is not right that they should be thanked for injuring Athens, while another is hated and ruined for helping it. Till the laws are changed you can hope for nothing.

iv. *The moral conditions of success.*

But decrees are of no use unless you have the will to act up to them. §§ 14-20. If decrees could have saved you, Philip would have been punished long

ago. Action, though it comes last in time, is first in importance. You have men who can speak, and you are quick to understand; now is the time for action. Never was there a better opportunity. Philip has taken one place after another; if he conquers Attica our cup of shame will be full. War is made on our allies by an enemy, a robber, a barbarian; no word is strong enough. It is time to leave vain accusations; like those who run away in a battle, we have only ourselves to blame. It is idle to find fault with proposals, unless you propose something better; or to blame them as unpleasant, when you have to choose between pleasant things and good.

I shall be glad to hear any proposals which will leave the theoric fund untouched, but past wastefulness must always mean present want. Self-deceit is easy when the wish is father to the thought; but facts are stubborn things. You must act accordingly, and provide for service and pay. It is disgraceful that the city which makes hasty war on Corinth and Megara should let Philip enslave Hellas for want of supplies.

v. *The old Athens and the new.*

§§ 21-32. I do not wish to offend you, but to serve the city. I am a plain speaker like Nicias and Aristides and Pericles, and have not learnt the modern art of lip-service, which brings wealth to your orators and dishonour to you.

Your true happiness lies in following your ancestors. Look at the forty-five years of Athenian empire; supreme in Hellas, and over Macedon, rich in treasure, victorious by land and sea they made a name too strong for envy. At home they adorned the city with noble buildings, and lived a simple life themselves, for Aristides and Miltiades sought not their own but the city's good. Their prosperity rested on loyalty to Hellas, piety to the gods, equality among themselves.

Our admirable orators have changed all this. When we had a clear field and might have been the arbiters of Hellas, we have lost our territory, and wasted 1500 talents; the allies whom we gained in war we have lost in peace, and we have raised up Philip against us. At home we have nothing to show but white-washed parapets, and roads and fountains put in repair. Consider this, and then look at our orators who have grown rich and famous on the misfortunes of Athens.

What is the cause of this change? In the old days power lay with

the people; they fought in the field, they controlled our statesmen, they distributed honours and rewards. To-day your statesmen are all powerful, and you, the people, robbed of your old power and spirit, are become their humble servants; shut up within the city you gratefully receive the petty gifts with which they nurse you to their will. While this is so a noble policy is impossible, for your spirit must take the colour of your life. The old days of free speech are gone, as I may find to my cost.

vi. *Conclusion.*

If you will break from these habits, if you will act with vigour and §§ 33-36. use your funds to good purpose, you may still win some substantial gain, and get rid of these demoralising gifts, which are like doctors' drugs that barely keep life going.

'Do I propose a system of pay?' Yes, I propose a uniform system of service and reward. I would have each do his proper work, military or civil, at home or abroad, and get his proper pay. I do not add or take away, but bring order out of disorder by adjusting work to wages. I never said that the idle should have the reward of the active, that mercenaries should fight while we gossip at our ease. I find no fault with our mercenaries, but I call upon you to act for yourselves, and so maintain the position which your ancestors so nobly won.

I have no more to say. I only pray that you may choose the course which is best for Athens and for you all.

παρίσταται, used of anything which occurs to the mind, or forces § 1. itself on the attention. Cf. Phil. 1. 17. 'When I look at facts I am driven to a very different conclusion from that which I should draw from the words which I hear spoken.'

ἀποβλέψω, used indifferently with *εἰς* or *πρός*. Cf. Ol. 2. 29; 3. 29. Here both are used.

δέον, sc. *ἐστί*. Cf. Ol. 2. 26 οὐτ' ἔχον ἐστὶ φύσιν.

τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, the state of affairs which forms the groundwork or deliberation. Cf. F. L. 242 τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως. 'The truth, it seems to me, is this, that men who talk in that tone are at fault in not presenting to you the facts on which you deliberate in their true light.'

οὐχὶ τὴν οὐσαν. Cf. Thuc. 7. 8 οὐ τὰ ὄντα ἀπαγγέλλωσιν.

§ 2. γέγονεν, not, 'both these things have been realised,' but 'both have been possible.'

τὴν πρώτην. Cf. Phil. 1. 23.

περὶ τοῦ, etc. The article is used to make a substantive of the clause. Cf. Phil. 1. 37 προαπόλωλε τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἂν ἐκπλέωμεν.

τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . ὑποθέσθαι, 'before we have laid the foundation truly, I consider it idle to talk of finishing the building.' Cf. Ol. 2. 10 τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις.

§ 3. εἴπερ ποτέ, 'if any occasion ever did.' εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος would be more usual.

ἐκεῖν', of what follows; cf. Ol. 2. 24.

σύνοιδα, used of the knowledge of some one else's action or condition, generally with the dative. Cf. Meid. 2 ἐφ' οἷς ἠδικημένῳ μοι συνήδει.

τῷ μὴ, etc., 'from want of will rather than want of knowledge.' Cf. in Aristocr. 145 πολλὰ γινώσκοντες ὀρθῶς ὑμεῖς οὐ διὰ τέλους χρῆσθε αὐτοῖς.

ἦ, for ἡ after τὰ πλείω cf. Soph. Ant. 313 τοὺς πλείονας ἀτωμένους ἴδοις ἂν ἡ σεσωσμένους. The article gives a quasi-superlative sense, but the force of the comparative remains.

πρὸς χάριν. Cf. Phil. 1. 38 ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις.

πάν μοχθηρίας, 'extremity of wretchedness.' Cf. Thuc. 7. 55 ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθυμίας ἦσαν.

§ 4. τῶν γεγεννημένων, genitive after μικρά rather than after ὑπομνήσαι.

δοτ'. 'You remember the time when word was brought,' etc. November 352 B.C.

τρίτον, etc., 'three or four years ago.' There is no uncertainty as to time, but from Nov. 352 to the spring of 348 might be described either as three or four years.

γιννομένου, for the singular, agreeing with the nearer subject, cf. Phil. 3. 57 ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ τῶν ξένων.

τοὺς μέχρι, etc. Cf. Phil. 1. 21 ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς εἶναι δοκῇ, and the note on the passage. Weil thinks that 'up to forty-five' gives too large a levy here, quoting Aesch. F.L. 133, where for a fleet of fifty triremes the levy is up to thirty years.

τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου. July 352 to July 351.

§ 5. τὰ μυστήρια, the great Eleusinian Mysteries, from the fourteenth or fifteenth to the twenty-seventh of Boedromion.

δέκα. Note the contrast; they now send ten ships instead of forty, and these empty (κενάς, cf. Phil. 1. 43) instead of manned with citizens (αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν), and five talents instead of sixty.

ἀσθενῶν. Cf. Phil. 1. 11.

ἦλθε, of news. Cf. Thuc. 8. 96 ἦλθε τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν γεγεννημένα.

οὐκέτι καιρόν, 'thinking the opportunity was gone by.' Cf. Thuc. 5. 13 νομίσαντες οὐδένα καιρὸν ἔτι εἶναι.

αὐτός, 'that was just the very opportunity of all others.'

δι' ὃν refers to καιρός τις.

περὶ after ἐμνήσθην. Cf. F. L. 19 περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ῥηθέντων . . . μνησθῆναι.

§ 6.

πάθητε, subjunctive, because the purpose depends not on past advice but on present opportunity.

εἰ γάρ, the γάρ follows on the implied answer to τί χρησόμεθα; 'you must give help, for if you do not,' etc.

πάντι σθένει. The solemn formula used in treaties, has a special force as reminding Athens of her obligations to Olynthus. Cf. Dittenberger *Syll.* 51 βοηθέν Βοιω[τ]ός παντὶ σθένει.

ὑπήρχον, he describes the state of things before Philip made war on § 7. Olynthus. 'There were the Olynthians with a considerable power.'

ἐθάρρει, 'Philip was afraid of them and they of Philip.' Cf. Xen.

Exp. Cyr. 3. 2. 20 τὰς μάχας θαρρεῖτε.

τούθ', explained by πόλις ἐφορμεῖν.

ἐφορμεῖν, properly used of a ship watching an enemy's fleet or port. For a similar metaphor cf. de Pac. 15 τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐφεδρεύον ἕτερος καθεδεῖται.

τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς, 'opportunities against him.' Cf. de Chers. 42 οὐκ οὐκον βούλεται τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφεδρεύειν.

ὀπωσδήποτε, 'by means I need not specify.' He implies that it is no credit to the Athenians. Cf. de Cor. 261 ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράψης ὀπωσδήποτε. For the fact cf. Ol. 1. 7 γέγονεν αὐτόματον.

ἐγὼ μὲν. 'I see no other way.' μὲν is used for special emphasis § 8. without a following δέ. Cf. Meid. 158 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὀρῶ.

ὡς ἔχουσι, the jealous attitude of Thebes was too well known to need description. See Introduction, p. 15.

ἀπειρηκότων, for the phrase cf. Isocr. 4. 92 ταῖς ψυχαῖς νικῶντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπέπον. The Phocians had by this time exhausted the sacred treasure of Delphi, which had been the support of their army.

τούτο refers to what precedes, viz. Philip's turning his attention to § 9. Athens.

ποιήσιν, the future extends the idea of delay, 'if any of you are for putting off your duty to that late hour.'

περιστήσεται. περὶ implies a final result, or a change, generally for the worse. Cf. Meid. 111 καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς ὑπέρδεινόν μοι περιέστη. 'For we must all, I suppose, know that this is how matters will end.'

δήπου, for its position cf. *infr.* 17.

Τὸ δὲ ὅπως. Cf. in Pantæn. 34 τὸ δὲ ὅπως ὑμεῖς σκοπεῖτε.

§ 10.

νο οἰέτας, the ordinary Nomothetae were a commission of Heliasts

οὕτω. One might expect *τοιαῦτα*; but the use of *οὕτω* throws the emphasis on the verb.

- § 20. *ὅπως . . . ἐνδέχεται καὶ δυνήσεσθε*. The meaning of *ὅπως* alters with the change of tense: 'look at things according to their possibilities and (consider) how you may be able,' etc. Franke makes *δυνήσεσθε* independent of *ὅπως*, 'and then you will be able;' in which case a comma must be placed after *ἐνδέχεται*.

ἐπὶ μὲν Κορινθίους. It is hard to say to what these words refer. Sauppe interprets them of events in 460 and 431, that is, a hundred years before. Demosthenes may be contrasting the activity of the past with the inactivity of the present, cf. § 35; but probably he is referring to more recent events. The words need not imply that an attack had actually been made on Corinth or Megara, but only that something of the sort had been talked of.

ἐφοδίων properly is = *σιτηρεσίων*, food given in addition to pay; here used to include both. For the dative with it cf. Ol. 1. 22.

- § 21. *τὴν ἄλλως*. Cf. F. L. 336 *τὴν ἄλλως ἐνταῦθα ἐπαρεῖ τὴν φωνήν*.
ἀτυχῆς. Cf. Ol. 2. 20 and note.

οὐ πᾶν, 'not at all.' The other meaning, 'not quite,' can only be obtained here by assuming a litotes.

τῆς πολιτείας. Here used of the political conduct of the individual statesman. Cf. de Cor. 222 *εἰς ταῦτα κατέτησε Φίλιππον ἢ ἐμὴ πολιτεία*.

- § 22. *διερωτῶντες*, 'these men who ask, one against the other.' Cf. *διφθεῖν*.

προπέποται. Schol. on Pind. Ol. 7. 5 *τὸ προπίνειν ἐστὶ κυρίως τὸ ἄμα τῷ κράματι τὸ ἀγγεῖον χαρίζεσθαι*. From the sense of 'to pledge, apparently retained in Dem. F. L. 128 *φιλοτησίας προῦπινεν*, it came to mean 'to give away.' Cf. F. L. 139 *ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ προῦπινεν αὐτοῖς*, de Cor. 296 *τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες*, and is here used of giving for a price; hence the genitive *τῆς χάριτος*.

τούτων, 'of these orators.'

- § 23. *οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοτρίοις*, etc., 'you will not have to adopt foreign ways, you need only become your true selves, in order to be prosperous.'

- § 24. *ἐφίλουν αὐτούς*, 'humoured them.' The transition from the relative to *αὐτούς* is due to the change of case required after *ἐφίλουν*.

πέντε μὲν, etc. 476-431 B.C. In Phil. 3. 23 he includes the years of the Peloponnesian war, making a total of 73. It is not true that during these years the Greeks were willing subjects of the Athenians, though they were in the first instance willing that the Athenians should have the hegemony. Cf. Thuc. 1. 96 *παραλαβόντες . . . τὴν ἡγεμονίαν . . . ἐκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων*.

πλείω δ'. Cf. Thuc. 2. 13; 9700 talents, besides 500 talents of uncoined silver, and 40 talents of gold.

ἀνήγαγον. Cf. Isocr. 8. 128 Περικλῆς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγεν ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν.

ταύτην. Macedon; the thought of Philip is ever present. The king referred to is Perdiccas II. Thuc. 5. 83. Cf. Halonn. 12 ἐφ' ἡμῖν γὰρ ἦν ἡ Μακεδονία καὶ φόρους ἡμῖν ἔφερε, where the tribute is probably a fiction.

ὥσπερ, etc. Cf. Eur. Iph. Aul. 1406 βαρβάρων Ἑλληνας ἀρχειν εἰκός quoted by Ar. Pol. 1. 2. 1252 b, who adds ὡς ταῦτ' οὖν φύσει βάρβαρον καὶ δοῦλον ὄν.

αὐτοί. Emphatic, 'in personal service,' as opposed to the use of mercenaries.

κρείττω. The glory was so honestly won that envy could not touch it. Cf. Thuc. 2. 41 μόνη ἀκοῆς κρείσσαν εἰς πείραν ἔρχεται.

ἐπὶ . . . ἐν. For the variation cf. Ol. 2. 1.

§ 25.

οἰκοδομήματα, etc. Cf. Aristocr. 207, Androt. 76 τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις σταθέντων τὸ κάλλος, προπύλαια ταῦτα, ὁ παρθενῶν, στοαί, νεώσοικοι.

ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἦθει, 'true to the spirit of the constitution.'

ὥστε, etc., 'that any of you who may chance to know the house of Aristides . . . can see that it was no grander than his neighbours.' Cf. Dicaearchus, p. 140 αἱ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν οἰκιῶν εὐτελεῖς, δλίγα δὲ χρήσιμα. Contrast with this the account of the establishments of the rich Athenians in the country, which were often very costly. Isocr. Areop. 60 καλλίους εἶναι καὶ πολυτελεστέρας τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἢ τὰς ἐντὸς τείχους, and Thuc. 2. 16.

εἰς περιουσίαν, 'to make a fortune.' Cf. Meid. 159 ὅσα τῆς ἰδίας § 26. τροφῆς ἕνεκα καὶ περιουσίας κτᾶται.

ἐκείνοις. The men of the old régime. Contrast with this the view § 27. taken of Pericles not only by Aristophanes and the comic poets, but by Plato, Gorg. 515 D, 519 A.

ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν, 'under the guidance of our admirable politicians of to-day.' Cf. de Cor. 89 οὗτοι . . . οἱ χρηστοί.

οἷς refers not to the orators, but to ἑμῖν. The construction changes after ἀλλά and becomes personal.

ἐρημίας, 'a clear field:' like the words which follow, πρωτείων, βραβεύειν, ἡσκήκαμεν, it is a metaphor from the games.

καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, etc. These participial clauses explain ἐρημίας. The Spartans had been crushed by the Theban supremacy; see Introd. p. 13, etc. The Thebans were busy with the Phocian war.

βραβεύειν, 'to arbitrate on the claims of others.' Cf. Trier. Coron. 11 καὶ πού τὸ πάντας ἔχειν ἴσον καὶ δημοκρατεῖσθαι φαίνεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἑμῶν ταῦτα βραβεύοντων;

πλείω δ', etc. Cf. Aesch. F. L. 71 χίλια δὲ καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα § 28. οὐκ εἰς στρατιώτας ἀλλ' εἰς ἡγεμόνων ἀλαζονείας ἀνηλωκέναι.

πολέμῳ . . . εἰρήνης refers to the great war against Sparta in which her power was broken, and to the subsequent peace, interrupted by the Social War.

ἢ φρασάτω. Cf. Ol. 2. 8.

παρ' ἡμῶν. Cf. Ol. 1. 9, Phil. 1. 11.

- § 29. ὦ τῶν. Used to introduce an objection, as in Ol. 1. 26. Here it is the objection of the superficial crowd, which sees the whitewashed battlements and blesses Eubulus.

τὰς ἐπάλξεις, etc. Cf. Aristocr. 208 δημοσίᾳ δ' ὑμεῖς ἂ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖτε καὶ κονιάτε, ὡς μικρὰ καὶ γλισχρά, ἀσχύνη λέγειν.

καὶ λήρους, 'and such trumpery.' Cf. Plat. Gorg. 490 C περὶ σιτία λέγεις καὶ ποτὰ καὶ ἰατροῦς καὶ φλυαρίας.

δὴ emphasizes the imperative.

- § 30. τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, 'in the old days,' opposed to νῦν δέ 31. καὶ στρατεύεσθαι. To serve in the field as well as in other ways. ἀγαθῶν, 'good things,' including honours, offices, etc. ἀγαπητόν. Cf. Phil. 3. 74 ἀγαπητόν γὰρ ἔαν αὐτοὶ σώζονται. τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστω. Each of those who separated himself from the δῆμος and became a public man.

- § 31. ἐκνευρισμένοι, 'your sinews are cut:' here used of moral fibre. Cf. Plat. Rep. 411 B ἕως ἂν ἐκτῆξῃ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ ἐκτάμῃ ὡσπερ νεῦρα ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς. Others understand it of the sinews of war, money and allies.

περιηρημένοι, 'stripped of money and allies.'

ἐν . . . μέρει, 'have become a mere servant and appendage.' For the words cf. Ol. 2. 14 (there used rather differently) cf. Aristocr. 210 ἡ πόλις εἰς ὑπηρετοῦ σχῆμα καὶ τάξιν προελήλυθε.

Βοηδρόμια, 'organise processions at the Boedromia.' For πομπαί cf. Phil. 1. 26. Does this refer to the festival of October 349 B.C.?

τῶν ὑμετέρων, 'the bravest thing of all is that you feel bound by gratitude to them for giving you what is your own.'

ἐπάγουσιν. The word seems to be used technically of putting a dog on the scent: here metaphorically.

πιθασεύουσιν. Cf. Xen. Oec. 7. 10 ἤδη μοι χειροθήτης ἦν ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἐτεπιθάσειτο; 'they have confined you to the city walls, and set you on this scent, moulding you like tame creatures to their will.'

- § 32. 'A large and liberal spirit can never be acquired by men whose acts are small and paltry: for men's spirit must needs answer to their pursuits, whatever these be.'

ταῦτα. Accusative after εἰπόντι, taken up again in αὐτά.

παρρησία. Cf. Phil. 3. 3 ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω κοινὴν οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι . . . ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε.

ἀλλὰ νῦν γε, 'now at any rate.' This use of ἀλλά is more common § 33. with the imperative. Cf. de Cor. 191 ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ πρότερον ἀλλὰ νῦν δείξον.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω, 'to gaining advantages abroad.'

ἴσως ἂν, etc. The future indicative would be the natural apodosis after the ἔάν clause, but the speaker dare only state the consequence as a possibility. 'It may be, it may yet be that you will gain,' etc. Cf. de Chers. 77 ἂν οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι χρῆσθε . . . ἴσως ἂν ἴσως καὶ νῦν ἐτι βελτίω γένοιτο.

λημμάτων has a sort of dishonest meaning. Cf. Ol. 2. 28.

καὶ . . . καί, 'as . . . so.'

νέμεσθε, 'you have distributed to you.'

ἀπογόντας, 'nor small enough to allow you to give them up and do something vigorous.'

ἀλλ' ἔστι, etc. The participial expression is more emphatic than the simple verb. 'This it is which encourages each one of you in your inactivity.' Cf. Phil. 2. 29 ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ τούτων ἀφεστηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα.

οὐκοῦν σύ; 'do you then propose the application of this money to the soldiers?' This question implies that those who are not of the military age, or cannot take the field will lose the payment from the State which they now receive. Demosthenes meets this by adding 'I do, and at the same time I propose that the arrangement shall extend equally to all departments. The citizens are to be paid for doing the work which the city expects of them, whether it be service in the field or duties of another kind at home.'

ὑπάρχοι, 'fulfil that part which the city requires of him.' The optative expresses the result as still remote.

ἔξεσθιν; for the question cf. supr. 18.

βελτίων, εἴ or ἐστί must be supplied with this and again with ὑπάρχων. § 34. The payment in time of peace will enable a man to live without engaging in any degrading employment: the regular payment will be better for the citizens than the receipt of it in the shape of theatre-money. In time of war the pay will maintain a citizen army: there will be no need to hire mercenaries, and pay them from some other source.

ἀτάκτως. In no position recognised by the State.

ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει. In his place like the rest.

πλὴν μικρόν, 'I only made one small change (by my proposal), I abolished disorder and brought the State into order.'

οὐκ ἔστιν ὄπου. Better taken with εἶπον than with νέμειν.

ἀργεῖν is to do nothing at all, σχολάζειν to be at leisure, i. e. to give § 35. attention to something beside the question, ἀπορεῖν to be puzzled, not to know which way to take.

τοῦ δεινός. Cf. Phil. i. 46.

§ 36

ὑμῶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. This is the burden of the speech.

τῆς ἀρετῆς. Genitive depending on τάξεως, put into the relative clause for emphasis: 'that position, that glorious position.' This military metaphor is very common in Demosthenes. Cf. de Cor. 173 τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον.

μετὰ πολλῶν, etc. Cf. Phil. 3. 74 ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων.

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